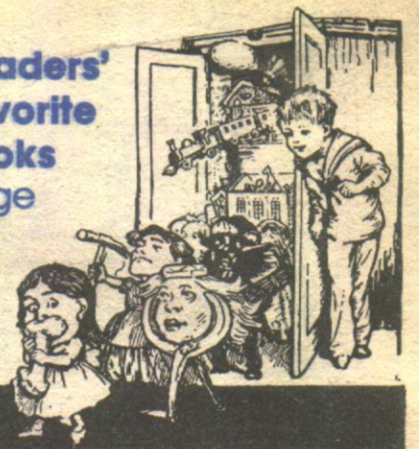


IN THESE TIMES

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Favorite
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VOL. 4, NO. 14

FEBRUARY 27-MARCH 4, 1980

75 CENTS

A GOOD DUMP IS HARD TO FIND

*As radioactive wastes pile up,
the storage problem remains unsolved.*

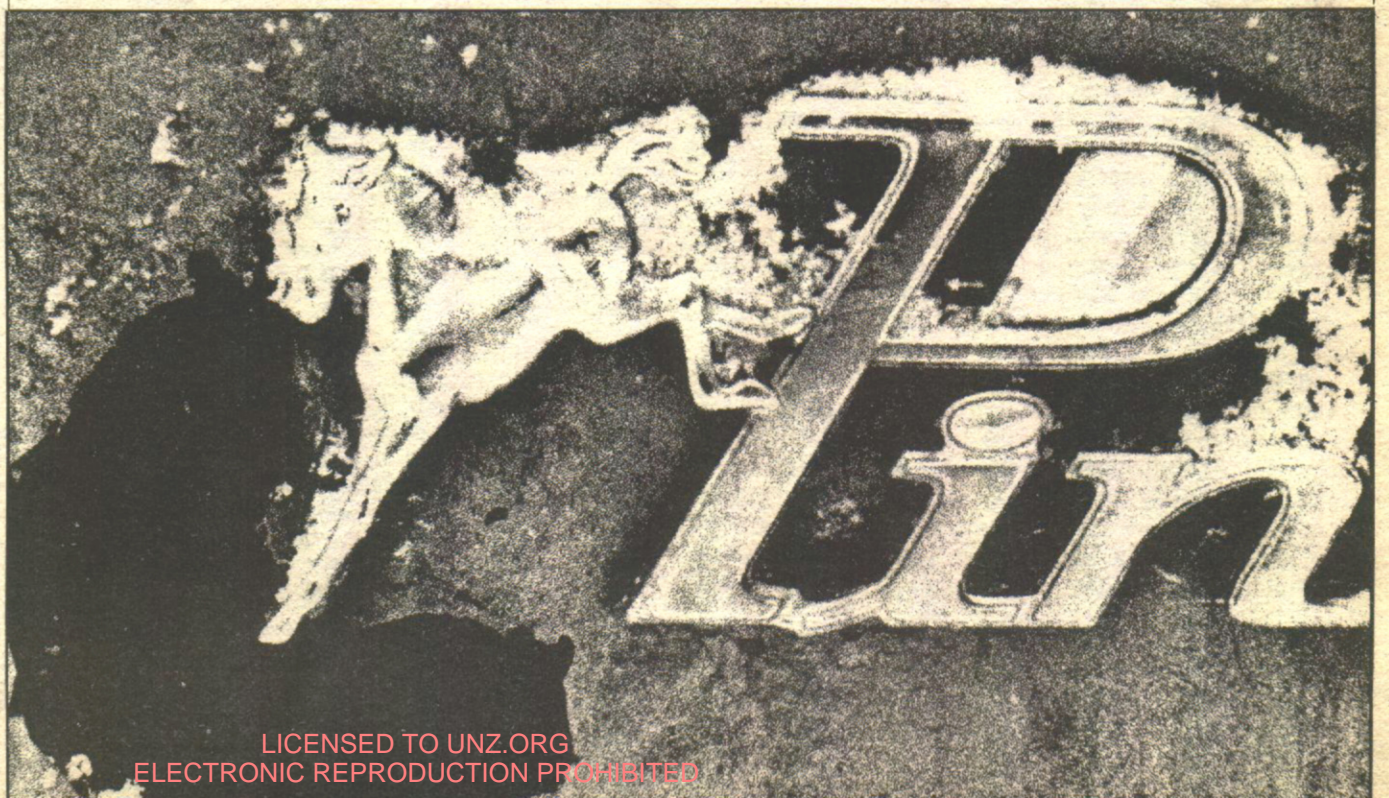
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Solid wastes dumped in an abandoned salt mine in West Germany.

TRIAL BY FIRE

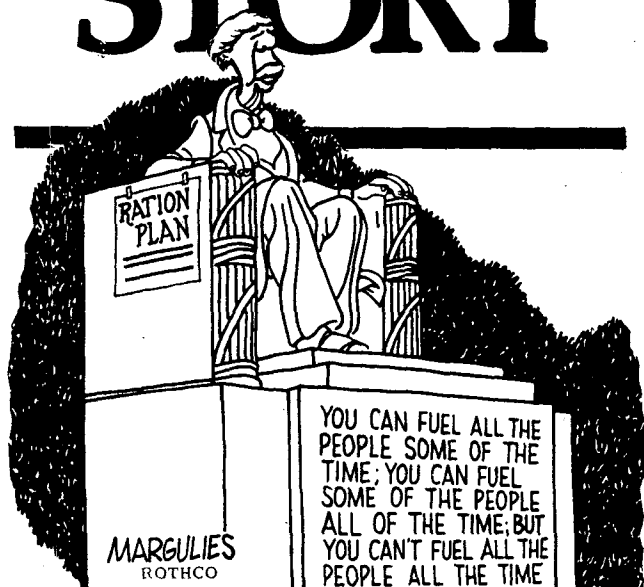
Pinto's makers
answer charges of
criminal negligence.

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE INSIDE STORY



Gas rationing and price controls are gaining support

By David Moberg

As war hysteria rises in the U.S. over hypothetical threats to our imported oil, and as the new year opens with a dramatic burst of inflation (a 1.6 percent January increase in producer prices despite declining food prices), the political divisions over how to manage the linked challenges of energy and the economy are also growing sharper.

On the one hand we are offered the "free market" formula. Let prices go up and wages down (in real terms) to restrict demand in general and for specific goods, especially oil. The rhetoric involves getting the government out of business. Yet government still plays an essential role in the plan—raising interest rates (as the Federal Reserve just did to 13 percent), cutting taxes for business to spur investment, perhaps adding on a 50-cent tax to each gallon of gas (with various degrees and forms of rebates) to cut oil usage.

This alternative, which relies on pricing and market forces but uses the government on behalf of business to intensify their force, is embraced in greatly varying incarnations by all Republicans and most Democratic politicians.

But frustrations with the success of such policies as well as fears for what might happen if they really did "succeed," are pushing another alternative into the political spotlight. This is a more directly managed economy in the vein of European social democracies—still quite capitalist but with government acting as part of a social compact with labor and business to divvy up the costs and benefits of adjusting to economic strain while attempting to bring about a recovery of capitalist vigor.

Senator Edward Kennedy's call in his Georgetown University speech for a six-month freeze of prices, wages, interest rates, profits, dividends and rents (followed by mandatory controls for an indefinite period) and for gasoline rationing to reduce consumption by 20 percent over three years made debate over the two alternatives potentially a part of presidential election politics. But Kennedy isn't alone. Governor Jerry Brown had already supported rationing, although he opposes price and wage controls. Other figures have also weighed in with support for controls, possibly rationing as well. They include former Council on Wage and Price Stability director Barry Bosworth; Bruce MacLaury, former president of the Minneapolis Federal Reserve Bank; F. Thomas Juster, director of the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research; and Felix Rohatyn, the investment banker and chairman of New York City's Municipal Assistance Corporation, who is a leading advocate of government planning to aid capital.

A shift toward planning.

The mixture of advocates of price controls—still small in number but more numerous than boosters of gasoline rationing—suggests that moving to more direct

government management will not in itself bring on pro- or anti-corporate policies. But the debate over how the government should manage and in whose interest decisions will be taken will take place within a governmental, political arena. That is what makes most capitalists uneasy. If the shift to the "social democratic" alternative takes place, it's a good bet that the corporate program will emphasize powers in the executive branch with minimal congressional influence. It's also likely that once controls go on, they will stay on a long time, as Kennedy implies.

Despite the hostility of the economics profession both to price and wage controls and to rationing, despite the reports of public distrust of government, polls show strong popular support for controls and even for gasoline rationing. (One 1977 survey of licensed drivers by the *Lundberg Letter* on petroleum marketing showed 60 percent favoring rationing if there was a serious shortage or if the alternative was considerably higher gasoline prices.) The main appeal of all such devices is that they offer the hope of "fairness" or "equity," at least by comparison with the market.

Yet when the Economic Regulatory Administration asked for public comments on its proposed standby gasoline rationing plan in early January, there were numerous consumer charges that the hopes of equity were not being fulfilled. The standby plan was ordered by Congress last year, and it would go into effect only if there were a drastic shortage of oil—a 20 percent shortfall. (There is some Carter administration interest in lowering the threshold to 5 percent, since even a drop of a few percentage points could produce gas lines, hoarding and chaos.) The president would invoke the plan, Congress could disapprove within 15 days, and the plan would be a temporary crutch during a crisis.

The Carter plan.

The Carter plan would issue coupons to households according to the number of registered vehicles. Anyone who needed more than the average allotment could buy them on a "white market" from people who used less. Allotments would reflect historic usage of each state so that regions that depend more on autos would get a bigger share. Certain classes of businesses and

Such questions as who should get gas coupons help move the debate on economic policy into a political arena.

government activities would get supplemental allotments, and all businesses would be able to apply for special coupons to reflect their "historical use."

One big question is simply who should get coupons. The Carter plan gives a ration to each vehicle; Kennedy and others have proposed giving a set of coupons to each licensed driver. It is clear, even from the Department of Energy's data, that wealthier people benefit from the vehicle-based plan, because they have more vehicles per person. But a fairly speculative computer model of the effects of rationing prepared by the DOE shows people under \$10,000 income benefitting from sale of their surplus coupons under both plans, although picking up more money—about \$300 a year compared with \$100 (or possibly \$200, depending on

which report you read)—with the license-based plan.

Some of the strongest advocates of rationing insist that every adult should be given coupons, whether they have a car or a license. They can take advantage of the sale to pay for mass transit or they can contribute the coupons to a car pool or a friend who gives them a lift, a common situation for older people. The poor and elderly, often the same, would be most excluded from the Carter plan. Nearly half of the households with less than \$5,000 have no vehicle, while nearly one-third of those with more than \$25,000 income have three or more.

The DOE argues that the standby rationing plan was developed simply to spread out gasoline supplies during a crisis, not to systematically reduce consumption or to give everyone a share in a costly resource. But conservation advocates, such as Carter Henderson of the Center for Alternative Futures, want to see deliberate rationing to cut down on oil use rather than the current Carter policy of rationing by price.

The question of equity.

Again the question of equity comes up. If we need to cut back on our gasoline consumption, why not share the burden but give everyone access to some basic supply at a stable price? We could figure out how quickly we wanted to reduce consumption and systematically bring it about. If we wanted to eliminate our dependence on Persian Gulf oil, so that we could reduce the incentive for war in the Middle East, then we could plan for a 20 percent reduction over a period of years, as Kennedy suggests. (We could also take measures to expand oil exploration and production in the U.S. and in non-OPEC countries by breaking the grip of the major companies on the world oil industry, as the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition testified at the rationing hearings.)

There are obviously some potential problems with rationing. Counterfeiting? Change the coupon series periodically. Special hardship cases? Have local review boards. (There is really a need for community energy councils throughout the country to do far more than handle rationing. They could encourage local conservation efforts and help develop community-level alternative sources of energy, from windmills to co-generation. With such a comprehensive multi-purpose plan, the boards would more than pay for the new bureaucratic costs.) The problems of rationing or permanent price controls must, however, be weighed against the problems, inequities and ineffectiveness of the open market nostrums.

There is, of course, no completely free market, what with the influence of oligopolies, conglomerates and cartels. But there is also no decision in which the government is absent. Even the decision to drop government control is a public policy to effect a certain distribution of income. Even the Department of Energy's exercise in distributing gasoline among users in case of a shortfall inevitably turns into a question of redistribution.

Rationing and price controls don't constitute a full program for the economy or for energy supplies. Each program could work for or against the working class, depending on its terms. But both point in the direction of a more politicized economy and a greater, more explicit recognition of government's role and responsibilities. They are signposts of an emerging social democratic solution that may be reluctantly adopted by the heirs of corporate liberalism from the ranks of both labor and business. It is U.S. capitalism's best hope, although most capitalists vehemently disagree. Ironically, it would also boost the prospects for socialism by offering a more congenial political milieu to argue for comprehensive public, democratic control of capital. ■

(ISSN 0160-5992)

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, third week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Ill. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

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This edition (Vol. 4, No. 14) published February 27, 1980, for newsstand sales Feb. 27-March 4, 1980.

IN THESE TIMES

Do many wrongs make a right?

By James Warren

WINAMAD, IND.

FOR NEARLY TWO MONTHS, THE jury has stared at the severed machine sitting on the gold carpet. It's cut in half, like a sandwich, affording a neat view of an infamous piece of American manufacturing, the Ford Pinto. Jurors can see the disputed gas tank, .035 inch thick, the ornamental bumper, and the bolts that can easily puncture the tank in a crash.

The machine in the courtroom is a replica of the Pinto driven by three Indiana girls killed in a 1978 crash. Ford Motor Co., on trial for reckless homicide, has spent well above \$1 million on a defense so thorough it has dictated the rhythm and rules of the soon-to-end trial and slowly overwhelmed a very capable, largely volunteer prosecution.

To understand the unraveling of this case, once thought to herald a "new era of corporate liability," is to understand the central figure behind the Ford defense, James M. Neal, one of the best trial lawyers money can buy.

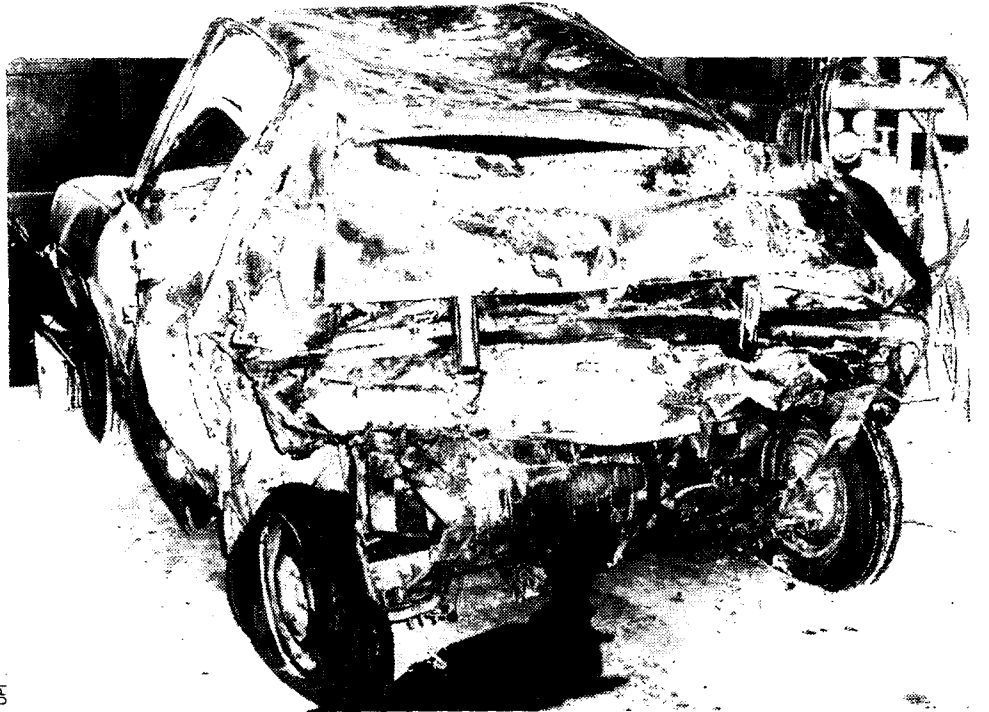
Neal was once a white knight in Camelot and, later, chief counsel of the Watergate conspiracy. It was Neal, then 33, who sent Teamsters chief Jimmy Hoffa to jail while assistant to U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. It was Neal who quit the Watergate Special Prosecutor's staff just hours before Nixon's Saturday Night Massacre but returned from

The Ford defense is ready to admit that the 1973 Pinto had design defects—if it can prove that other subcompact models of the same era were equally unsafe.

lucrative Nashville private practice to win the convictions of H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, John Mitchell and the rest.

The 50-year-old Neal who has dominated the Pinto trial is not the Kennedy Democrat of yesteryear. He's a new-born economic conservative who says "those Great Society programs didn't work," contends that "American industry has become the real underdog today" and exhibits disdain for "do-gooders and their simplistic responses."

Neal, who recently defended former



Another issue in the Pinto trial is whether the car, shown here, had come to a stop before it was hit from behind.

Lockheed Corporation chairman Daniel J. Haughton—the man who quit in the overseas payments scandal but wasn't prosecuted by the U.S. Justice Department—has taken Ford's defense because he thinks the Pinto case is just as important as Hoffa or Watergate.

"If the theory behind this prosecution was repeatedly used, it would be devastating to this country."

The theory behind the criminal prosecution is that Ford turned its back on "acceptable standards of conduct" in designing the Pinto and "recklessly failed

to warn the family that owned the girls' car that it was a four-wheel fire trap. How the prosecution and defense understand that theory is worlds apart and, fortunate for Ford, a frequently ambiguous and tentative trial judge has come to accept Neal's interpretation.

Crucial to prosecutor Michael A. Cosentino—and the source of heady optimism now deflated—were boxes of Ford records, many of which hurt Ford in civil cases on Pinto. Those records seem to show that Ford knew right from the start the Pinto, introduced in late 1970, was potentially unsafe because the gas tank leaked and sometimes exploded. Ford tests revealed that when hit from behind even at speeds as low as 20 miles an hour, the tank might rupture, the floor and side panels separate, and the doors jam shut.

Cosentino didn't worry that nearly all his documents involved the 1971 and 1972 model Pintos. Why should he? They were nearly identical to the 1973 model driven by the Indiana girls. And, in fact, crash tests for the 1973 model year used "cobbled" or slightly altered 1971 and 1972 models. He had the crash tests; he had eyewitnesses of the crash who said the Pinto was definitely moving as fast as 35 miles per hour when hit from behind; he had an influential safety design consultant who thought the car a monstrosity; and he had an ace in the hole, Harley Copp, a former high-ranking Ford executive who helped design eight Ford models in 30 years and deemed the Pinto unsafe.

But trouble started early, as Neal made the first of many protests against the use of the Ford records. "We're not trying a product's liability case here," Neal would say. "We're not trying the 1971 Pinto, the 1972 Pinto, the 1974 Pinto or any other car. We're trying *that* car!" pointing to the 1973 Pinto cut in half and laying before the jury. "We are here to see if *that* car was unsafe, if *that* car didn't meet acceptable standards and if Ford recklessly failed to warn the Ulrich family that *that* car was unsafe!"

To Cosentino's dismay, Pulaski County Judge Harold Staffeldt, hedged his decision when Cosentino tried to introduce some of the 200 documents into evidence. Clearly Staffeldt was impressed by the heralded and diplomatic Neal who has "down-homed" the rural jury with finesse. He told Cosentino he couldn't use the records unless he could "lay the proper foundation." So with his best witnesses still to come, Cosentino bit his lip and prepared for the unveiling of the records.

First, he tried the safety consultant, Byron Bloch of Los Angeles. Neal objected. Bloch was never present at those Ford tests, how could he vouch for the authenticity of those records? Judge Staffeldt repeated his prior qualifier;

Continued on page 8.



Up until 1970, radioactive wastes were dumped in the ocean in sealed drums—some are now starting to leak.

Carter's cautious policy on nuclear waste won't let states veto storage sites

By Richard P. Pollock

WASHINGTON, D.C.

IT TOOK THREE YEARS OF INTENSE behind-the-scenes jockeying for the Carter administration's complex nuclear waste proposals to see the light of day. But when it did, on Feb. 12, there were a few new wrinkles in what virtually all observers have regarded as a disastrous previous record on radioactive waste management.

Although Three Mile Island seems to have overwhelmed the rising chorus of concern about nuclear waste, the prob-

lem has nevertheless mushroomed beyond mere administrative flaps. The largest radioactive waste spill in history occurred July 16 in New Mexico when over 100 million gallons of water contaminated by 1,100 tons of uranium mill tailings poured 60 miles down the Rio Puerco River. One of the nation's worst radioactive accidents, it threatened hundreds of square miles in New Mexico and Arizona.

Just two weeks before the TMI reactor accident in Pennsylvania, nuclear waste experts were mulling over more bad news. An unprecedented report by 14 federal agencies, called the Interagency

Review Group (IRG), said that technical experts were pessimistic that an acceptable permanent waste disposal method could be found. The IRG report, which was sent to the president last March 13, concluded that permanent storage "may prove difficult to implement in practice and may involve residual risks for future generations which may be significant."

Every contender for the Oval office denounced the Carter plan. Conservatives dismissed it as rubbish and liberals are openly skeptical that the president's lofty promises would be implemented by a recalcitrant Department of Energy.

Continued on page 8.

IN SHORT

FBI blocked prosecution of Klan murderers

The FBI under J. Edgar Hoover twice blocked prosecution of four Ku Klux Klansmen identified as the bombers of a Baptist church in Birmingham, Ala., in 1963 that killed four black children, according to the *New York Times*.

The *Times* story, based on a Justice Department report, also says a fifth Klansman was hired by the FBI as a paid informer two months after the children's deaths despite his flunking lie detector tests about the murders. The *Times* added that the informer worked for the FBI for two years after the incident even though the agency considered him so dangerous as to warn the Secret Service to keep an eye on him as a possible threat to the President.

The disclosures are part of a 302-page Justice Department document investigating another FBI Klansman informer—Gary Thomas Rowe Jr.—involved in alleged FBI-financed Ku Klux Klan violence and now under indictment for the 1965 murder of Detroit civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo.

Köbert E. Chambliss was convicted in 1977 for his rôle in the bombing of Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist Church.



The funeral of one of four children killed in the Birmingham bombing.

Chicago Firefighters strike

In the wake of recent strikes by mass transit drivers and by school teachers, the vast majority of Chicago's 4,350 firefighters walked off their jobs early in the morning of Feb. 14. The strike grew more emotionally strained as Major Jane Byrne pressed for a court restraining order and contempt citations—backed by \$40,000-a-day fines against the union and its officials for engaging in an illegal strike.

But when Byrne began hiring temporary—and then permanent—replacements for striking firefighters, vowing that "never again will these men put on the blue shirt of the Chicago Fire Department," Chicago-area union support for the first time consolidated around the firefighters and their feisty leader, Frank Muscare. After Byrne broke off negotiations, labor leaders tried to bring her back to the bargaining table. When she refused to talk until the firefighters went back to work and threatened never to talk with Muscare, leaders of other unions that have members among the city work force threatened to respect any picket lines set up by the firefighters. One labor official was quoted as saying, "We're on the verge of war."

The union originally insisted on retaining its right to strike at the expiration of the contract, but later appeared to have been willing to give that up. Binding arbitration for settlement of grievances was accepted by both sides. Other issues include the union's demand for increased fire truck staff, job assignment strictly by seniority, and overtime premiums.

Although bitterness now clouds the dispute, one of the main obstacles to settlement is the union's insistence on including all uniformed firefighters in the bargaining unit, excluding only a few top officials in the manner of a plan worked out in Philadelphia. It appeared that the city was ready to agree to including lieutenants in the bargaining unit, but not captains or higher officials.

Firefighters had been early supporters of Byrne's challenge to former Mayor Michael Bilandic, since she promised to end the "handshake" agreements between city workers and the administration and to negotiate legal contracts. But Byrne has been slow to fulfill her promise to city workers, and support for a strike—lacking a year ago—grew substantially.

As *ITT* went to press, firefighters had

agreed to return to work on the condition that an amnesty be granted to all strikers not guilty of criminal or "quasi-criminal" activity and that the city negotiate around the clock for 24 hours to reach a settlement.

U.S. backs exile's nuke mishap story

A new Department of Energy report confirming independent analysis of a massive nuclear accident in the Soviet Union in the 1950s is further evidence of a "deliberate and conscious decision" by the CIA and other U.S. officials to downplay nuclear dangers, according to Critical Mass Energy Project director Richard Pollock.

Pollock, whose Ralph Nader Public Citizen-related group published CIA documents on the Soviet radiation disaster in 1977, told in *THESE TIMES* he believes the U.S., despite the Cold War, wanted to cover up the Russian blunder in order to avoid general alarm over nuclear mishaps.

The Critical Mass report and a report a year earlier by exiled dissident Soviet

biologist Zhores Medvedev were substantiated by the Oak Ridge National Laboratory study.

Although still sketchy in detail due to lack of Russian cooperation, the reports estimate about 1000 square kilometers of land east of the Ural mounts 1000 miles east of Moscow were contaminated, causing radiation sickness and requiring relocation of thousands of people.

Scientists believe the no longer used method of ammonium nitrate processing of nuclear waste was responsible for an explosion that spread liquid and gaseous radiation over the military site. CIA and other documents indicate the Soviets began in the late '50s to publish scientific papers on ecological contamination in the "Kasli area," though no map coordinates have ever been given on its location.

Soviet maps printed after the accident omit place names that had appeared on maps before the incident. And according to Pollock, another Soviet emigre scientist, Leo Tumerman, saw road signs warning of radioactivity in the area during a 1961 car trip.

Medvedev's original allegations in the British *New Scientist* were derided by the head of Britain's atomic energy authority as not being possible. But the Oak

Ridge report points out just such an accident happened on a smaller scale at an atomic lab on Canada's Chalk River in 1950.

Inflation hits necessities most

The skyrocketing prices of the necessities of life in the past year were responsible for nearly the entire increase in the rate of inflation between 1978 and 1979, according to the National Center for Economic Alternative's year-end report.

"For real people trying to make wages meet expenses, inflation is not an average, it is much worse in the things we have to buy than in the things we can postpone," National Center co-directors Gar Alperovitz and Jeff Faux said.

According to the Washington research group, the cost of the necessities—food, housing, energy and health care—rose 17.6 percent, an increase of 63 percent over the 10.8 percent inflation rate for the same items in 1978. The inflation rate for everything else in the government's consumer price index marketbasket rose only 6.8 percent last year, however, just three-tenths of a percent more than 1978's non-necessity rate.

The four items measured by the necessity index amount to about two-thirds of the household budget of four out of five American families, according to the report.

Alperovitz and Faux warn, "Unless we see a major change in our strategies to control inflation in the '80s, the basic factors underlying sectoral pressures are likely to continue. The 1980s could be an unmitigated inflation disaster for the American family."

Alperovitz and Faux said that since the sale of large amounts of wheat to the Russians and the Arab oil embargo in the early 1970s, the "U.S. economy has become more and more vulnerable to inflationary shocks in the key energy and food sectors."

"At the same time, we have entered a situation of housing shortage because of the baby-boom population bulge, and we continue to experience runaway health care costs because of an irrational and wasteful financing system," they said.

They advocate more renewable and non-OPEC energy supplies, "serious" conservation programs, more housing construction and rehabilitation, health care cost controls and "new institutions and policies to insulate the domestic economy from external food and energy shocks."

Scientists ask for nuclear arms cessation

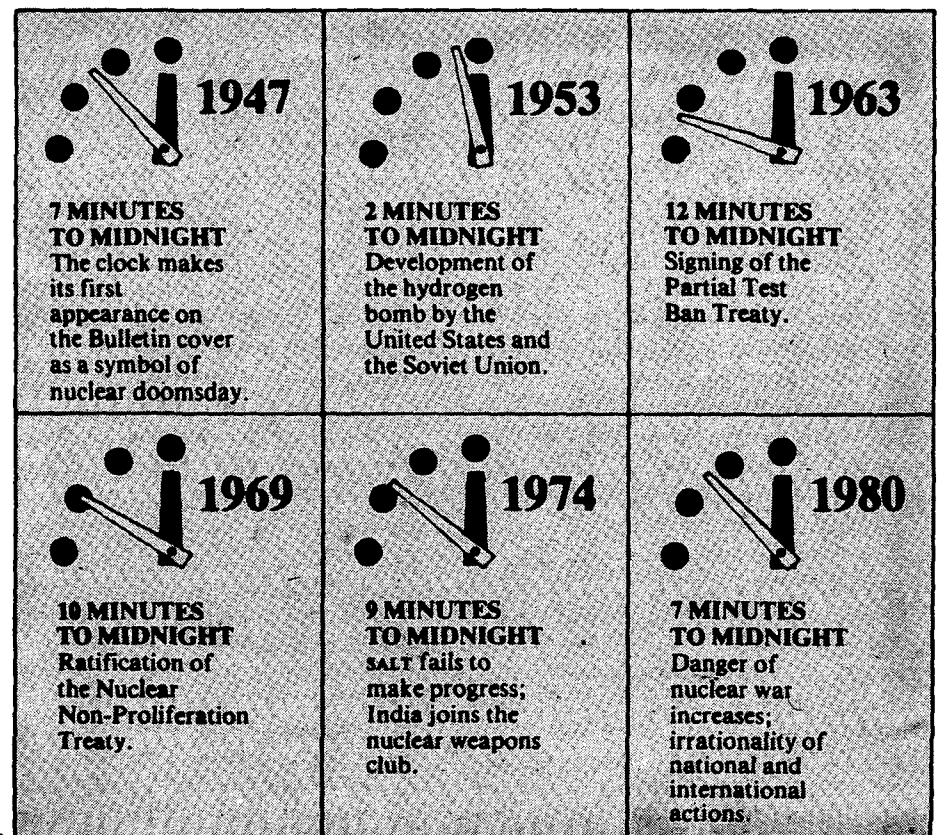
The governing council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science has called for an end to nuclear weapons systems development and a gradual conversion of weapons research labs to peaceful uses, according to the *Chronicle of Higher Education*.

The science association, which rarely involves itself in controversy, also voted to establish a working group to help organize and mobilize resources toward nuclear arms control, the *Chronicle* said.

At the association's annual San Francisco meeting, the group drafted a proposal that if adopted would call on scientists to refuse to work on weapons projects.

In a separate move, the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, citing "obvious" world tensions, moved the hands of its imaginary nuclear "doomsday clock" from nine minutes before a midnight nuclear holocaust to seven minutes before the stroke of disaster.

The clock was first set at seven minutes to midnight in 1947, moving closest—two minutes before the hour—in 1953 following Soviet and American hydrogen bomb testing.



IN THE NATION

ETHICS



WHERE DID THE \$5.4 MILLION GO? GEE, LET'S SEE... THERE WAS THE \$1.5 MILLION THE SECRETARY SPENT ON COFFEE... AND, OH YES, THERE WAS A COUPLE OF MILLION FOR NEW TYPEWRITER RIBBONS... AND THE STAMP MONEY...

Miller again under scrutiny for role in Textron pay-offs

New evidence underscores the question: How could he *not* have known?

By Robert Howard

WASHINGTON, D. C.

"A M I EVER GOING TO BE free?" asked Secretary of the Treasury G. William Miller after a four-and-a-half hour appearance Feb. 8 before the packed chambers of the Senate Banking Committee.

Miller was referring to a rekindled political controversy concerning his involvement in a corporate pay-off scheme at the Textron Corporation, the Rhode Island-based conglomerate he headed before entering government service.

On Feb. 1, the Securities and Exchange Commission filed a complaint in U.S. District Court here charging that from 1971 to 1978 Textron paid some \$5.4 million in secret commissions to officials of 11 foreign countries in order to stimulate the sales of its Bell Helicopter division. The 17 page civil complaint, the fruit of a year and a half of investigation, also alleged that corporation executives maintained a secret \$600,000 slush fund to entertain Pentagon officials, "mainly through the provision of meals."

Corporate pay offs were not illegal under U.S. law at the time of the alleged payments. Neither was the existence of the entertainment fund, though the Department of Defense has strict regulations against accepting "hospitality" from private contractors. But according to the SEC complaint, Textron violated federal security laws by failing to disclose both the payments and the fund to corporation stockholders and government regulators.

Miller, who was president and chief executive officer at Textron from 1968 to 1974 and then chairman of the board until he left the firm to head the Federal

Reserve System in 1978, is not named as a defendant in the SEC complaint. He is only referred to three times as Textron's "chairman." But the SEC alleges that Miller knew of the \$600,000 fund and concealed it from stockholders. It also charges that he made "erroneous and misleading" statements at the corporation's 1976 and 1977 annual meetings by denying without "reasonable basis" that the company had engaged in foreign pay-offs.

Textron was one of the first of the major conglomerates formed in the 1960s; its 1978 sales totalled \$3.2 billion. Most of the SEC's charges concern Textron's Bell Helicopter division, the corporation's largest, responsible for 20 to 30 percent of its total sales. Throughout the '70s, Bell was a major arms supplier to Third World governments.

According to the SEC complaint, the company paid millions of dollars to sales agents who then deposited the money in secret bank accounts in Switzerland and Luxembourg on the behalf of officials in countries buying Bell products. The countries involved include Ghana, Mexico, the United Arab Emirates, Morocco, Iran, the Dominican Republic, and Iraq. One of the beneficiaries of Textron's largesse was Mohammed Khatami, brother-in-law of the deposed Shah and founder of the Iranian Air Force. Khatami, whose firm, Air Taxi, was the agent for Bell and other American arms companies in Iran, personally received "at least \$500,000 of the \$2,950,000 paid to Air Taxi" by Textron, according to the SEC report.

The \$600,000 slush fund was to repay Bell employees for expenses incurred while entertaining Pentagon officials. Bell executives submitted reports for "miscellaneous expenses," the exact nature of the costs were added in pencil. Once they were reimbursed, the pencil notes were destroyed. "Textron's entertainment expenses were recorded to conceal that Textron was entertaining U.S. government personnel," says the SEC report, and "senior Textron officials and its chairman knew of this practice."

Textron has responded to these charges by agreeing to a "consent decree"—without either admitting or denying guilt it is willing to take certain remedial measures. Eleven senior Textron officials implicated in illegal activity have invoked the Fifth Amendment since the SEC cannot

guarantee immunity from prosecution. The SEC complaint most likely will be referred to the Justice Department—which is pursuing its own investigation of Textron—where it will be reviewed to determine whether criminal charges should be brought against the corporation or its officials.

Miller's role.

Though Miller is not directly named in the SEC complaint and, as yet, there is no evidence linking him to the pay-offs, the recent developments in the Textron case have seriously damaged his credibility. The most serious issue, as far as Miller is concerned, is perjury. Bell Helicopter's payments to foreign officials, especially Khatami and Air Taxi, were the object of extended questioning at Miller's confirmation hearings before the Senate Banking Committee in 1978. At that time, he said, "My company didn't bribe anyone."

Now, committee chairman William Proxmire, a persistent critic of Miller and the only senator to cast a dissenting vote against his confirmation as chairman of the Fed, says that "the SEC complaint leaves no doubt but that bribery was corporate policy at Textron." Proxmire has publicly suggested that Miller and other Textron executives may have committed perjury before his committee.

In light of the new allegations, Miller no longer denies that Textron made improper payments but maintains that he was wholly unaware of them until the SEC report was made public. "It turns out that there were some transactions hidden from me," the secretary said at a press conference the day after the SEC complaint was filed.

While Miller has claimed that no senior Textron executives were involved in the pay-offs, the SEC memo does name top executives who, if not the actual planners of the payoff scheme, were allegedly aware of it. The central question is: how seriously did Textron top management, Miller included, try to find out about improper payments and then report them to their stockholders and the government?

Corporate bribery became a controversial public issue as early as 1975, but Textron did not begin a special review to uncover questionable payments until May 1978—after Miller's appointment to the Fed but before his confirmation hearings. More serious is the charge by

Proxmire that Textron officials destroyed evidence revealing a bribe paid to a Ghanaian official days after Miller was requested by the Banking Committee to inquire into the Ghana matter. Two weeks ago, Proxmire requested Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate Miller's role in the pay-offs.

At his press conference, Miller also acknowledged that he knew Textron was entertaining defense department officials, but he dismissed the charge as not new and "not serious." He discounted the importance of the amounts involved, saying they represented "normal courtesy and hospitality" and rarely exceeded \$100 per person. "It wasn't exactly out-on-the-town kind of stuff," he said.

Miller has denied that the entertainment expenses were hidden because they were prohibited by DOD regulations. Rather, they were set apart to ensure that no improper "business expense" deductions were taken and that the amounts were not charged to government contracts. What Miller has failed to mention is that Textron tried to deduct these expenses until discovered by an IRS audit.

The IRS demanded that the corporation either list the expenses with the names of the Pentagon officials who benefitted from them, as the law requires, or forfeit the deduction. According to internal company documents, Textron chose the latter path in order to protect defense department employees from embarrassment due to possible rule violations.

Further investigation.

Miller's efforts to distance himself from the shady dealings at Textron have met with widespread skepticism. Senator Proxmire's call for a special prosecutor has been seconded by three Democrats on the House Judiciary Committee and four of the seven Republicans on the Senate Judiciary Committee—the "majority of the minority" provided for under the Ethics in Government Act. According to this provision, Civiletti now has 30 days either to appoint a special prosecutor or to show cause why he has not. Meanwhile, the *New York Times* has also joined the chorus; and *Business Week* has even suggested that Miller resign "if the issues are not resolved quickly."

The *Times* editorial expressed the logic behind the call for a special prosecutor: "The crux of the case is that Mr. Miller's story is unbelievable.... Textron was not, after all, selling Girl Scout Cookies on the Upper East Side. It was selling aerospace equipment to governments in Africa and the Middle East, a hotly competitive business. Bribery was widespread—and legal—until the law changed in 1977.... Even outsiders would have to be naive to think that Textron could have operated in that environment without under-the-table payments. It is hard to imagine so attentive and decisive a chairman as Mr. Miller could have assumed otherwise. Yet he assured his stockholders and Congress repeatedly that Textron was cleaner than clean."

So far, Attorney General Civiletti has refused to go the special prosecutor route. He claims there is "no evidence of knowledge on the part of Mr. Miller." But the Justice Department investigation so far has been limited to only one possible case of obstruction of justice at Miller's confirmation hearings; as yet, none of the Textron executives who pleaded the Fifth before the SEC have been offered immunity by Justice. Proxmire recently accused Civiletti and his department of being "overwhelmingly biased" in the Textron case.

Of course, the answer to Secretary Miller's plea before the Banking Committee depends ultimately on the play of political pressure. Needless to say, the Carter administration wants to avoid any in-depth investigation in this election year, not to mention the major headache of yet another change at Treasury so soon after the last. But if the Republicans make an issue of "Textron-gate" or, more immediate, if the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Edward Kennedy, takes up the "cause of the Senate" against the executive branch, Secretary Miller may not be the only political figure in Washington asking: "Am I ever going to be free?"

PRISONS

By Arturo Sandoval

SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO

SOON AFTER THE NATION'S second bloodiest prison riot was quelled at the New Mexico penitentiary outside Santa Fe, an army of state attorneys arrived to begin an official investigation into the causes and damage. Criminal charges, ranging from vandalism to murder, may be brought against 75 to 100 prisoners involved in the riot, which left 33 dead.

No one expects similar charges to be leveled against the clique of prison officials who allegedly ran the prison like a feudal fiefdom, nor against state legislators who, repeatedly presented with evidence of gross neglect and deterioration at the prison, chose to ignore it and refused to appropriate additional funds.

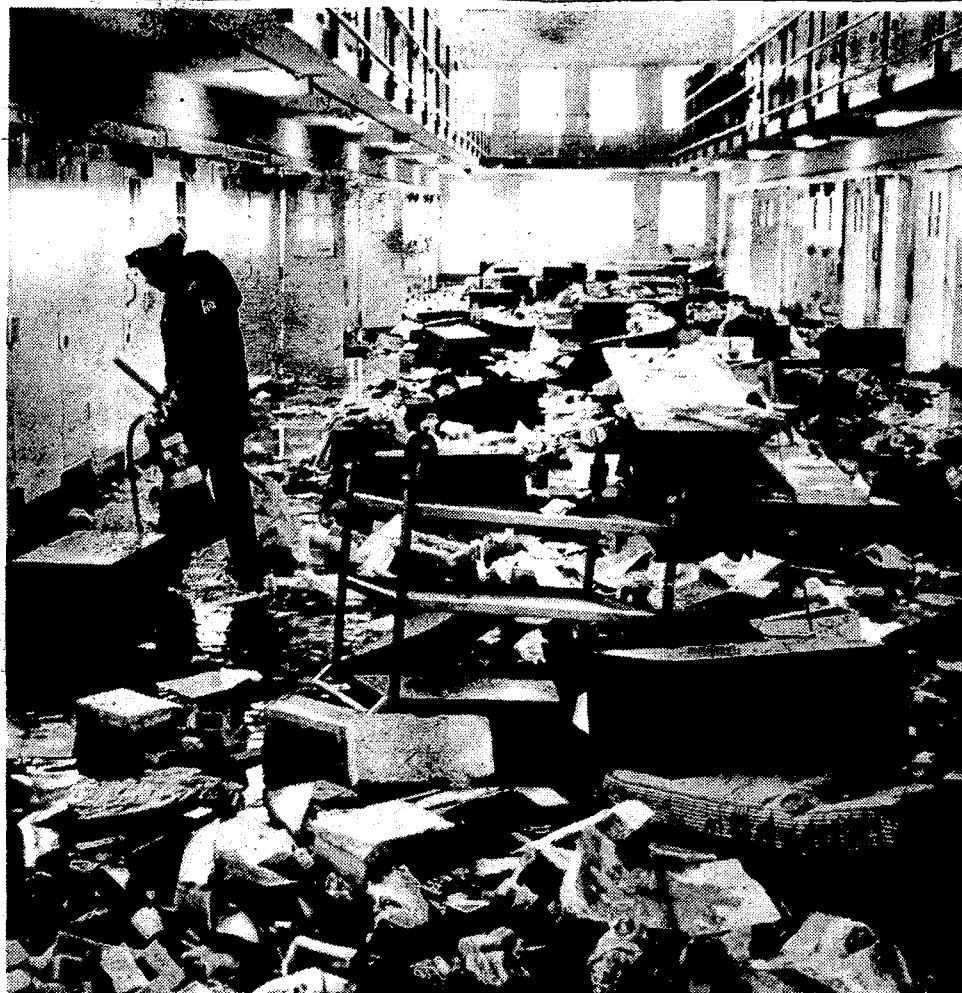
Yet, in the view of many prominent and respected penal authorities, to say nothing of former and current prison inmates, blame for the "holocaust" in New Mexico is not hard to place. At least a large portion of it rests squarely on the custodial mentality of state prison officials, the corruption and politics of the state penal system, and the Draconian attitudes of state legislators who are increasingly out of touch with the state's—and the prison's—large minority population.

The responsible state officials, said Raymond Procunier, former head of the California Department of Corrections and a nationally respected penologist, "were playing Russian roulette with the lives of inmates, staff and the public."

Procunier had been called in as a consultant in an investigation of the New Mexico prison following a mass escape in December. What he found convinced him that the riot that followed his report on the prison by only three weeks "should have happened long before, and no doubt will be repeated if the staff and training problem is not addressed quickly."

New Mexico Attorney General Jeff Bingaman, who conducted the pre-riot investigation of the prison, essentially agreed with Procunier. In an extremely critical report to the Santa Fe grand jury one month ago, Bingaman charged that the prison was dangerously understaffed, that guards received little or no training, that security was inadequate, and that political nepotism ruled the hiring, firing and promotion of staff.

That conditions were ghastly inside the prison was a fact best known by the prisoners themselves. Three years ago,



Even now as they discuss massive reconstruction of the prison, New Mexico officials say little about the need for sweeping changes.

Malign neglect in New Mexico

State officials ignored many warnings about conditions at the prison

they filed a federal class action suit charging that the prison, built for about 850 inmates, was crowded with up to 1,200 prisoners, some of whom had to sleep on floors and in hallways. The suit, still pending, also charges prison officials with gross neglect of medical and psychological services and lack of meaningful rehabilitation programs.

Dwight Duran, a Chicano convict who spent six months in the prison library

researching the suit three years ago, was released just two weeks before the tragedy. Even then, he says, "tensions were unbelievably high inside. Inmates had to wait up to a year just to receive any psychological service. For Chicanos especially (who comprise two-thirds of the inmate population), it was impossible to get psychological counsel as a safety valve for tension because not one psychologist spoke Spanish. And even though

many of the Chicanos spoke English, they could only express their deepest feelings in Spanish."

For many inmates, said Duran, the chapel and the law books represented their only hope. "Perhaps that's why they weren't trashed during the upheaval," he added.

Even the prison guards acknowledge that conditions at the prison were dreadful. Meeting shortly after the takeover, they issued a list of their own demands, asking for better salaries for themselves, more training and better prison conditions for both guards and inmates.

Beginning guards now earn just over \$700 a month. One guard complained that his training consisted of a half-hour tour of the prison, after which he was given a whistle and placed in a cell block to begin work. His experience was apparently not exceptional, according to Procunier's findings at the prison prior to the riot.

Working conditions.

In addition to the low pay and lack of training, Procunier found that the authorized guard force of 147 had been as many as 42 men short. At the time of the takeover, only 14 guards were on duty, supervising 1,156 inmates.

Given such working conditions, the prison naturally attracts less than qualified men for guard jobs. Many are only 18 years old, most are poor Chicanos, and a survey of their educational attainments conducted a decade ago revealed there were not enough college credits among the entire staff to comprise a single college degree. Not surprisingly, the turnover rate is 80 percent, according to Procunier.

Beyond the issue of guards, the administrative staff of the prison and of the state penal system has been the subject of numerous allegations of mismanagement and outright corruption. In the past five years, there have been four prison wardens and four secretaries of correction, all victims of political warfare.

Since 1970, four major disturbances at the prison have produced detailed reports and recommendations for reform, all of which have been ignored.

In a letter dated April 28, 1970, to then-governor David Cargo, Dr. John Salazar, secretary of corrections, complained bitterly that prison warden Felix Rodriguez and deputy warden Horacio Herrera had stood in "direct opposition" to all reform efforts. Salazar had fired

Continued on page 18.

REGULATION

Congress debates new reins on FTC

House and Senate disagree on how to reduce the power of the FTC, but some restraints on the activist agency appear inevitable.

By Judy Sarasohn

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE are preparing to do battle over the best way to rein in the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), the government agency established to root out fraudulent and anti-competitive business practices.

Both chambers have overwhelmingly approved bills to restrict FTC activity, contending that the agency has overstepped its mandate and has been too zealous in its regulation of business. But members of each chamber strongly oppose the other's bill. The House wants to give either chamber the power to veto any FTC regulatory action; the Senate

opposes legislative veto.

Because of this dispute, the FTC has bypassed the normal budgetary process since 1977 and has received funding on a temporary basis. That funding runs out March 15, a date set last year by Congress to avoid going a fourth year without a bill properly authorizing the FTC's activities.

House-Senate conference negotiations to resolve the differences in the two bills are not expected to start before late February, or possibly the first of March. No one is predicting an easy resolution by March 15. And no one is quite sure what will be done about FTC funding if the deadline is not met. Even if the House and Senate can agree on legislation, President Carter may veto it.

Carter opposes legislative veto as an

unconstitutional encroachment on the executive branch. His aides have hinted at a possible presidential veto of any legislation that includes the one-chamber veto. The president drew applause from a consumer group Feb. 7 when he said he would veto any bill that "cripples" the FTC. But Carter has not specified what he would consider an unacceptable bill.

The FTC was considered an ineffective agency until the early 1970s, when an infusion of aggressive staff and new congressionally-granted powers began to transform the FTC into an active protector of consumer interests.

The rules established by FTC administrative procedures have the force of law. In recent years, business organizations, including the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the television and advertising industries, have lobbied Congress to cut back on the agency's powers. Opposing restrictions of the FTC is a coalition of consumer and labor groups.

Many members of Congress say the agency is an important protector of consumer rights, but that the FTC has overstepped its mandate and passed rules against whole industries in order to correct a few abuses.

"It is not the intent of the Commerce Committee to go as far with this legislation as to take the proverbial teeth out of the tiger," said Senator Wendell H. Ford (D-Ky.), chair of Commerce's Consumer Subcommittee. The bill, Ford said, will "restore the FTC to a responsible and respected agency."

But Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) argued that the FTC was under attack because "it has done its job." "The bill before us today is regressive," Metzenbaum told his colleagues before the vote. "It turns the clock backwards. Its enactment would mean yet another special interest victory in this Congress and yet another setback for the overburdened people of this country."

The House passed its bill on Nov. 27 by a vote of 321 to 63. In addition to providing one-chamber veto, the House bill would bar the FTC from making new rules on two matters now before the agency: an antitrust prosecution of the Sunkist Growers agricultural cooperative (which alleges that the producer group monopolized western oranges and lemons) and a proposed requirement that funeral homes give customers a cost breakdown on their services.

Continued on page 18.

IN THE WORLD

CANADA

Liberal Party wins an easy victory

Joe Clark's blunders ensured a change in government—if not in policy.

By Doug Smith

TORONTO, ONTARIO

IF, AS GEORGE ORWELL ONCE SAID, every joke is a tiny revolution, the recent elections should be causing somebody some concern. Joe Clark—dubbed "Joe Who" when he came out of nowhere to win the Conservative Party leadership four years ago—became the national butt during his nine months as prime minister.

The Feb. 18 elections saw Pierre Trudeau and the Liberals sweep back into majority government after being humiliated last spring.

The fact that Trudeau could win such a decisive majority when he had resigned the party leadership just two weeks before the election indicates the degree to which Clark had managed to alienate the electorate in his brief tenure. One by one he broke or vacillated on his election promises and spent much of his time contradicting other members of his cabinet.

The most memorable gaffe was Clark's election promise to move the Canadian embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The promise was made to give a boost to a Tory winning in a largely Jewish riding. The Arab states threatened economic retaliation that might have cost Canada \$885 million in exports, 55,700 jobs and half of its Arab imports. When the Arab monetary fund decided to stop all dealings with Canadian financial institutions, immigration minister Roy Atkey, who owed his election to the promise, said the Arab Bank was worse than its bite.

The directors of Canadian business felt the bark was bad enough and pressured Clark to relent. Two days after a meeting with 15 senior business leaders, Clark announced that the former conservative leader Bob Stanfield would go to the Middle East to study the matter. Not surprisingly, he came back recommending against the move.

The other issue that dominated the early months of the Clark government was the fate of the national energy corporation, PetroCanada. During the May election Clark had called the company a "turkey" and said he would sell it off. After the election, some prominent conservatives, including the energy minister and the party president, said that they did not think it would be such a good idea to get rid of a company that had a profit of \$34 million in 1978.

Clark stood firm and appointed a commission of executives to devise ways of unloading PetroCanada. They suggested giving it away, distributing five shares of the company to every Canadian. Clark toned that down and proposed giving one third away, selling another third, and letting the government keep the rest.

These sorts of maneuvers lent the government a comic opera touch, and by November the Tories were trailing the Liberals by 20 points in the Gallup poll.

That set the stage for the Clark budget, whose defeat caused the election, and whose content lost it for Clark.

Finance minister John Crosby had promised a tough budget, and he delivered. Along with increases in the tax on cigarettes and liquor, there was an 18 cent excise on gasoline. The new taxes were attacked not only by the Liberals and the New Democrats, but by the Conservative Ontario provincial government—and it was this alienation of Ontario that cost Clark the election. The Ontario treasurer, Frank Miller, said that over four years the gasoline excise tax would cost Ontario consumers and industry an extra \$15.7 billion.

Two days after the budget was introduced, the Liberals and NDP combined to defeat the government and force another election. Pierre Trudeau, who two weeks before had said he was not the person to lead Canada into the '80s, was retained as head of the Liberal Party. His campaign was very quiet, with few interviews or confrontations with the public. Gallup showed the Liberals had the election in the bag, and they coasted into office trying to attract as little attention as possible.

Foreign affairs.

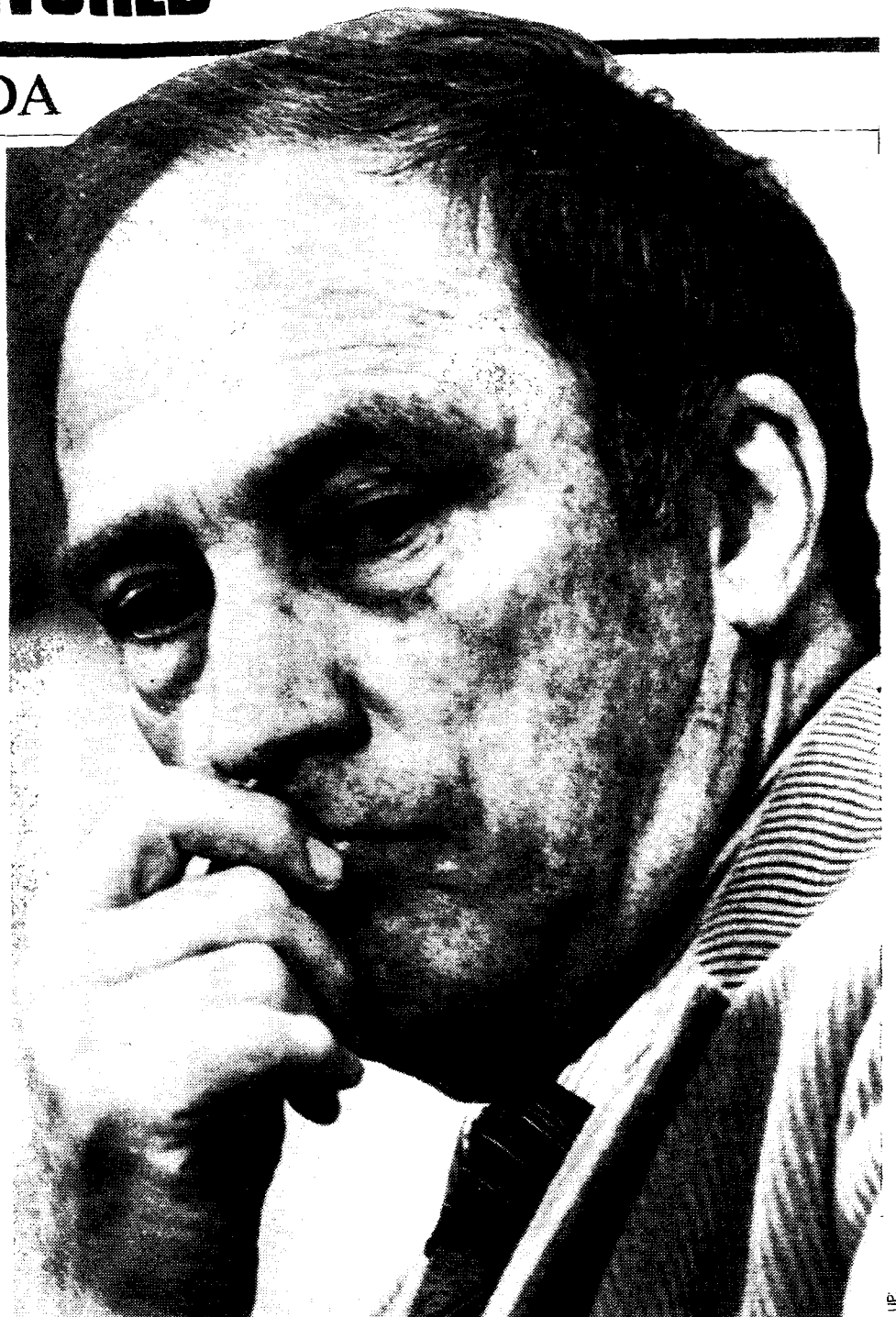
Clark tried to boost his party's sagging fortunes midway through the elections by capitalizing on foreign affairs. The conservatives tried to red bait Trudeau for visiting Cuba while he was prime minister and for expanding trade relations to the Soviet Union. Clark also said he stood foursquare behind Jimmy Carter on the Olympic boycott and the Carter Doctrine. His foreign minister said that Canada would give American draft dodgers the lowest priority if they tried to immigrate. Clark tried to capitalize as well on the rescue of the People from the Tehran embassy.

Foreign affairs also gave the New Democratic Party some headaches when party leader Ed Broadbent gave Jimmy Carter his full support after the state of the union address. Broadbent said that in light of recent events the NDP would be reviewing its ten-year-old commitment to withdraw Canada from NATO and NORAD. Broadbent was publicly criticized for his support of Carter by NDP foreign affairs critic, Pauline Jewett.

The election saw the NDP nationally increase their seats to 32, but they failed to make any serious breakthroughs in the industrial heartland of southern Ontario and the leader of the NDP's left caucus, John Rodriguez, was defeated. The results reflect a growing regionalization of Canadian politics. The NDP captured only six seats in eastern Canada, while the Liberals, on their way to a majority government, got only two seats in the west. The Liberals took all but one seat in Quebec, while the Conservatives took all 21 seats in oil-rich Alberta.

The change in government does not necessarily mean very many changes for most Canadians. In the past, the Liberals have been given large mandates only to turn around and institute Tory policies. In 1975, Trudeau introduced wage controls after bitterly attacking them in the previous year's election. In the summer of 1978 he committed the federal government to a severe budget restraint program.

Although the more left-wing Liberals have supposedly made some headway in the party since the last election, it is unlikely that there is going to be any real difference from the past nine months. ■



Only two weeks after stepping down as Liberal Party leader, Pierre Trudeau was re-elected prime minister.

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Pinto

Continued from page 3.

Cosentino might be able to get the documents in if he would "lay the proper foundation."

The prosecutor was chagrined, but believed that, if all else failed, Harley Copp would surely save the day. Here was a man who methodically rose through the Ford hierarchy, and helped design the 1956 Mark II Continental, the 1960 Falcon and 1972 Torino, among others, before a less than gracious forced retirement ("for unauthorized absences") in 1976. While collecting a hefty pension, Copp had become an effective turncoat. It was Copp who helped devastate the Ford defense in a California civil case in which a boy injured in a Pinto crash was awarded \$125 million (later reduced to \$6 million and on appeal).

As Cosentino set the groundwork for introducing his records through Copp, Neal objected. Four weeks into trial, a turning point had come. Staffeldt, a kindly 60-year-old, small-town judge without even the benefit of a single law clerk, had been pushed to a final reckoning. Finally, the judge made a series of unequivocal rulings: any evidence relating to any car other than a 1973 Pinto was out. A frustrated Cosentino reached for and closed the briefcase on the table. He folded his hands on top of the case, closed his eyes and sunk his head into his hands for a minute. "I don't know what I'll do now," he'd say later.

Neal had narrowed the limits of the criminal case against his client with one deliberate stroke. But it's not the lone element in a defense that has also featured the estimable savvy of its front man and the seemingly endless resources of the client.

James Neal is the talk of Winamac. Waitresses ask him over for dinner some night, while the gruff owner of one local restaurant surprised him with baked delights not on the menu. Inside the courtroom, he has regaled jurors with tales of his rural boyhood on a farm outside Nashville, sprinkling his performance with humorous agricultural allusions.

Neal also has adeptly used the intense, usually unsmiling Cosentino as a foil. When Cosentino and Neal agreed on a minor point on Valentine's Day, Neal rose from his seat, plucked the red rose out of his lapel, and presented it to the prosecutor saying, "Here, Mr. Cosentino, now you've got a heart."

More important, he has orchestrated the mammoth resources of some 20 lawyers and paralegals who hover about the courtroom for Ford. It is only by sitting there day after day that one really understands the scope of Ford's research effort. (The prosecution has made do with \$20,000 in county funds and a load of volunteers).

When Cosentino's first big witness, Byron Bloch, hit the stand, Ford knew as much about the high-profile expert's past as Bloch did. The defense lawyers traced every slip-up in an admittedly checkered academic past—every course flunked, every school dropped out of—and the reasons he quit a string of jobs. They portrayed him as a mercenary consultant who'd testify on the safety of

anything from Pintos to coffee pots. As they would do also with Harley Copp, they had copies of every deposition or testimony Bloch had ever given, neatly cross-indexed to enable Neal to quickly point out contradictions. Further, Neal made the intemperate Bloch look like a classroom wise guy. By the close of Bloch's week-long testimony, many thought it had done Cosentino more harm than good.

But the greatest piece of research was still in the offing. For weeks Neal had promised "a big bang" to start his month-long defense. Could it be the Pinto's "father," former Ford president Lee A. Iaccoca, now head of ailing Chrysler Cor.? Or, perhaps, "Hank Deuce" himself, Ford chairman Henry Ford II? In the context of this case, Neal did even better: he brought in an emergency room orderly who spent ten minutes alone with the Pinto's driver before she died.

It was there the girl apparently solved a mystery that had baffled even prosecutors. If the girls had been heading toward a church volleyball practice, why was the car pointed the opposite way when hit? She told the orderly that they'd stopped at a self-service gas station but forgotten to replace the gas cap. Returning to the road, she saw the cap fly off the top of the car. She gingerly turned the car around, drove to the cap and stopped the car. At that moment she was hit from the rear.

If what the orderly heard was correct, the prosecution claim that the car was moving is in jeopardy. And if the Pinto was stopped when hit by a van going 50 miles per hour, Ford could be off the hook. How many cars, big or small,

could withstand that sort of crash?

Locating the orderly, Levi Woodard Jr. of Leving, Mich., typified how well Ford did its homework. They heard about him via a former hospital colleague who had become a Mennonite missionary in Costa Rica. A Ford lawyer flew to Costa Rica where the nurse mentioned a "black orderly who had spent time" with the girl in the hospital.

And as the trial draws to a close, Neal hammers home another prime claim: The Pinto was no more unsafe than any other subcompact of its era. Neal doesn't say it was great, just that it was about the same as others. Since the jury must decide on "acceptable standards of conduct," Neal maintains, that's important.

So, as the prosecution has its display, Ford has one of its own. It arrived the day the company opened its defense and takes up most of the dank, dimly lit basement of the Pulaski County Courthouse. It consists of four other 1973 subcompacts—the Chevrolet Vega, Toyota Corolla, AMC Gremlin, and Dodge Colt—all severed in half, just like a sandwich.

Ford's expert witnesses come and show how dangerous those cars were. One witness, a former head of the National Highway Transportation Safety Administration, used a measuring stick to point out dozens of unsafe elements in the four cars. As far as fuel system design, the former safety chief said, those cars might be viewed as even more dangerous than the Pinto.

Depressing? Surely. Enough to get Ford off the hook? The jury, that unpredictable group of 12 men and women, will decide soon.

James Warren is a reporter for the Chicago Sun-Times.

Waste

Continued from page 3.

Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy scored the policy for failing to provide states with veto power if DOE chooses a poor site. No waste policy would be "politically credible until it recognizes the right of states to reject the construction

of waste facilities within their borders," he said.

But while the new Carter policy is certainly no "10," it isn't a zero either. Some rather significant policy changes were floated on Feb. 12. And if DOE implements most of them, it will stem the tide of continuing blunders that have marked waste policy.

For one, Carter decided to cancel the controversial Waste Isolation Pilot Project, scheduled to have been the nation's

first experimental underground waste repository. Environmentalists and geologists despise the project, which had been championed by the nuclear power industry and former energy secretary James R. Schlesinger.

WIPP, slated to have been built in salt beds near the scenic caverns in Carlsbad, N.M., seemed to be heading for certain environmental disaster. The underground site was supposed to be impermeable, but geologists noted that the region was pockmarked with potash mines, many dating back to the turn of the century. Concern rose further when a U.S. Geological Survey circular noted many undesirable characteristics of burying hot and chemically unstable radioactive wastes in salt beds.

Cancellation of WIPP on Feb. 12 was an important victory for nuclear critics. So too was the president's new timetable for building a full-scale underground repository by the mid-'80s. The nuclear industry lobbied to have the timetable speeded up. Scientists and environmentalists urged a "go-slow" policy, since five previous nuclear waste experiments had all ended in failure.

Geologists at the USGS have long argued that other underground rock formations—specifically clay, granite, shale and crystalline—seemed to be more promising storage media. But industry pressure on the Nixon and Ford administrations to get a solution quickly in hand, meant that only research on salt beds was pushed.

The new Carter policy calls for experimentation in a number of rock formations. For that reason, an early solution to radioactive waste disposal is unlikely. Administration sources put the date somewhere around the "mid-1990s," and concede that it could even slip further as more information is evaluated.

Carter's plan also made concessions to the nuclear industry. For example, a program to build—at taxpayer's expense—up to 14 massive spent fuel pools to temporarily store used or burned-up reactor fuel. The pools, called Away-from-reactor storage centers, or AFRs, would take the mounting inventory of spent fuel rods off the hands of the utility companies.

Over 22,000 spent fuel assemblies accounting for 40 million curies of radioactive material are now in the hands of utilities. By the year 2000 that will increase to 10 billion curies and over 100,000 spent fuel assemblies.

The catch is, no one really knows what to do with them permanently. The rods will remain toxic for tens of thousands of years. And the AFRs are only a temporary storage measure, which will be useful for about 10 to 20 years—providing there is a way to build permanent underground repositories that will work.

Environmentalists object that the AFRs will double the amount of nuclear shipments. Now, most commercially-generated spent nuclear fuel remains on site. But with an AFR, up to 1,500 shipments of spent fuel would be transported across the country's highways and rails each year.

The environmental and public health risks have not been lost on state and local leaders. Nor have previous DOE nuclear waste mistakes.

As a consequence, state governments have lobbied for "veto rights" over federal planners. The industry bitterly fought the veto rights concept, fearing that most states would resist the possibility of becoming the nation's chief dump-ground for nuclear garbage.

Here, too, Carter caved in to the industry, and refused to grant states the right to stop a federal waste facility. Instead, he proposed a system of "consultation and concurrence" and established, by executive order, a "State Planning Council" chaired by South Carolina's Governor Richard Riley.

The Council, composed of 13 state and federal officials and one native American tribal representative, would have the authority to advise, but not direct. Carter's refusal to grant state veto rights, will probably be one of the central points of debate in Congress.

Commenting on the general drift of the President's plan, David Berick of the Environmental Policy Center noted that while it does not reverse passed policy, "it contains most of the elements to reverse it." The program's success or failure, he says, will depend on DOE's performance, which up to now has been abysmal. "The vestiges of the old program at DOE raise some serious questions as to whether things are really different," Berick says. "The day-to-day programs have not been re-directed at DOE despite the president's new initiatives."

"You have to ask yourself, 'Is anything really changing?'"

Richard P. Pollock is director of Ralph Nader's Critical Mass Energy Project.

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SOUTHEAST ASIA

Vietnam revises economic plans to hasten recovery

The new program emphasizes flexibility, greater local autonomy and a revived private sector.

By John Spragens Jr.

A SERIOUS SHAKEUP IS GOING ON in Vietnam, but the replacement of such famous leaders as defense minister Vo Nguyen Giap is one of the least significant elements.

The major changes are in the economic field. They are so fundamental that some analysts are saying it is the first time in the country's history that ethnic Vietnamese have had the chance to run a free enterprise economy.

The exaggeration is pardonable. Ethnic Chinese merchants traditionally monopolized Vietnam's rice trade and dominated the rest of the nation's commerce. They remained strong in the southern half of the country until March 1978, when virtually all the country's trade was nationalized.

Rather than take up farming, most of these out-of-work entrepreneurs joined the stream of lost people leaving for foreign shores.

Now, though, Vietnam is encouraging private production and trade as part of a package of reforms government leaders hope will revitalize a seriously sagging economy.

Going into the final year of the 1976-1980 state plan, Vietnam is a country that still cannot feed itself. Foreign visitors have reported rations so tight that people do not have the energy to do a full day's work. The country had to spend virtually all its 1979 foreign exchange earnings—estimated at \$300 million—importing grain to maintain even this austere diet.

The five-year plan had anticipated a 1980 crop of 13 million tons of unhulled rice, known as paddy, plus other staple foods equivalent to three million tons of paddy. That goal has now been scaled down to 15 million tons.

If the goal is met, it will be the largest crop since the war with the U.S. ended in 1975—enough to feed the country, but not enough to export.

Part of the cause for the poor agricultural showing has been an unprecedented string of bad weather—droughts, floods, then too little sun—which hit three years' crops in a row. The long wars with France and the U.S. share some of the responsibility, too. Many fields abandoned during the fighting have not yet been reopened.

The industrial sector has faced similar problems. Vietnam hoped for significant amounts of foreign investment and drew up an inviting investment code in 1977. But the U.S. has banned investment or even trade with Vietnam, and there has been only a token amount of investment from other western nations.

But Vietnamese leaders have acknowledged that much of the trouble has been caused by unrealistic planning on their own part and poor implementation of the plans at lower levels.

This is especially true for agricultural cooperatives in the south, which have been resented and resisted by farmers in the fertile Mekong Delta. On the industrial side, would-be investors have too



The government plans new incentives for private initiative in trade.

often been frustrated by government red tape and suspicion.

The response—worked out at a July 1979 meeting of the Communist Party's central committee—is a sweeping set of "new economic plans" that emphasize flexibility, greater local autonomy and a revival of the private sector.

"When state farms and cooperatives haven't yet organized the breeding of buffalo, cattle, pigs and chickens very well," the party daily *Nhan Dan* said in an Oct. 13 editorial, "it is dogmatic, and it's bad economics, to carry out policies and measures that prevent farm families from raising their own animals."

Plans to complete the collectivization of agriculture by the end of this year have been dropped. New regulations allow families to cultivate unused land at the cooperatives and use the harvest as they wish. Tax breaks are given to organizations or families who open up new farming land.

More autonomy.

Centralized economic planning has not been abandoned, but more planning will now be done on a regional level. And if production units—agricultural or industrial, collective or private—produce more than government plans call for, they will have the right to use the extra goods themselves, or sell them on the free market.

In a more startling departure from the traditional rules of the game in planned economies, production units that bring in foreign exchange will be able to spend part of the foreign earnings directly—to buy raw materials or capital equipment for their own use.

The central committee resolution and the regulations it spawned also emphasize self-sufficiency, especially in the production of consumer goods.

The new plans call for increased material incentives as a reward for high output, especially of high-quality products for the export market. But higher incomes will be scant incentive if there is

nothing to buy with the money. Leaders are calling for more of everything from soap to bicycles and electric fans.

In a November 1979 article, the outgoing planning chief, Le Thanh Nghi, also called for a better distribution system so rural families will not have to go all the way to the cities to do their shopping.

Government publications are carefully explaining the new economic policies as a short-term retreat. In fact, the announcement of the new policies coincides with a purge of incompetent and corrupt party officials in the south on the grounds they were impeding reconstruction, and with a series of polemics attacking China's market-oriented economic policies.

One factor that has only been mentioned in the most general terms is the cost of the fighting in Cambodia, now in its second year. Even western sources hesitate to guess. A U.S. State Department analyst says that attempts to put a figure on the price the Soviet Union is paying to support the venture have come up with "embarrassingly round figures."

Whatever the direct costs of keeping the force of 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers in the field, secondary costs add substantially to the total.

Some Vietnamese factories report that 20 to 35 percent of their male workers have been lost to the army. The army units now fighting in Cambodia are no longer growing crops in Vietnam, as many were before this new war. And the absence of army personnel will slow the clearing of new farm lands. Troops have been used for much of the hardest and most dangerous work, especially removing unexploded mines, grenades and other ordnance.

Despite the costs, it is clear from the new government lineup that Vietnam will stick with its Cambodia policy. General Van Tien Dung, who has taken the defense portfolio from Giap, is the main architect of Vietnamese battle plans in Cambodia.

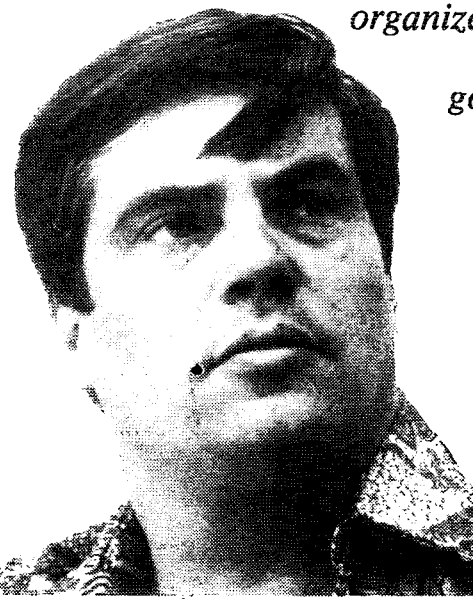
Another change of particular interest is Pham Hung's move to the ministry of the interior. The 68-year-old Hung, a native of the Mekong Delta, took charge of the party's Central Office for South Vietnam in 1967 and guided the war in the south until its end in 1975. His appointment may be in response to complaints within the party that Southerners have been given too little say in the post-1975 government.

But the re-shuffle analysts really want to see what will come later this year, when Vietnam introduces a new constitution. The whole government structure will be revamped then. If any major shifts of power are in the works, they will begin to show up in those new job assignments.

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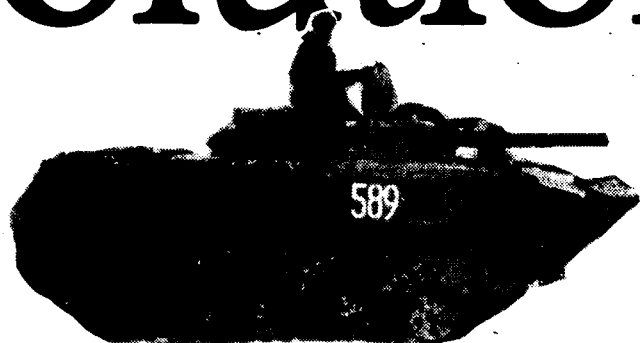
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AFGHANISTAN

Revolution From Above



By Diana Johnstone

AFGHANISTAN ILLUSTRATES once again that the great powers' defense of their "security" is the biggest threat to the security of everybody else.

Leonid Brezhnev explained to *Pravda* that Soviet forces went into Afghanistan to save it from a "plot" to turn it into "an imperialist military bridgehead at the southern frontier of our country." The USSR could not just "sit back passively and watch the formation on our southern border of a serious threat to the security of the Soviet state."

Now, it so happens that there's a narrow mountain pass on the northeastern tip of Afghanistan that borders the far west of China. So of course China feels its security threatened. And the U.S., although on the other side of the world, is so alarmed about its security that it is getting ready to grind its ploughshares into MX missiles and its grain into gasohol.

The giants see everything that goes wrong in the world as part of a plot by another giant. Or so they pretend.

Leaving aside the propaganda hyperbole, a fairly clear picture of events leading up to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan emerges from concurring reports by experienced observers. The heart of the tragedy is the failure of the country's westernized elites in their efforts to pull the Afghan people out of age-old poverty

and ignorance. It's the planetary problem of "underdevelopment," compounded by great power paranoia and meddling.

The Western elite.

The modern world has scarcely touched Afghanistan. The Soviet Union has long had the lion's share of its skimpy foreign relations, but until quite recently this influence did not seem to extend to the country's internal political life.

Western—including Soviet—influence has been limited to an urbanized elite cut off from the archaic tribespeople of the mountains and plains. As elsewhere in the Third World, much of the educated elite of government administrative employees and schoolteachers turned to Marxist-Leninist doctrine for guidance in modernizing their backward country. Fifteen years ago they founded the People's Democratic Party (PDP), which adopted the orthodox "stages" theory of revolution: in a feudal precapitalist society, a "democratic and national revolution" must be prompted as the first necessary stage towards the socialist revolution that can only come much later, after formation of a modern working class.

The PDP soon split over how to play this game. On the one hand, its larger

Khalq ("people") group argued that the working class must take leadership of the national democratic revolution stage. But the smaller Parcham ("banner") group argued that the rudimentary working class was not yet up to such a role and that the progressive struggle at this stage must be led by a common front of all classes favorable to the national democratic revolution.

It seems that this difference corresponds to a slight variation in the social composition of the two groups. The Khalq intellectuals, such as poet Mohamed Taraki, came from more modest families than those in Parcham and so identified more readily with the "working class." The Khalq did its best to recruit members outside the small urban intelligentsia where Parcham remained ensconced. But even Khalq had only a couple of thousand members, many of them students.

Parcham recruited in the best private schools of Kabul (British or French) and tried to exercise a progressive influence by occupying key government posts. Parcham's star orator, Babrak Karmal, son of a general and member of an influential feudal family, headed the small PDP delegation in the parliament that was tolerated by King Mohamed Zahir as an experiment in the late '60s.

The king's relative and former prime minister Mohamed Daoud used Parcham (whose closeness to ruling circles earned it the nickname "the Royal Communist Party") to help him overthrow the monarchy in a bloodless coup in August 1973.

Afghan rebels.



President Daoud adopted Parcham's moderate democratic reform program but failed to carry it out. The left, which strongly supported Pashtoun rebels in neighboring Pakistan and Balouch tribesmen in their battle against state authority in Pakistan and Iran, felt further let down when Daoud gave in to pressure from the Shah of Iran (including promises of economic aid) to urge Pashtoun militants and Balouch refugees to go back to Pakistan and make peace with rightist General Zia Ul-Haq, just after he overthrew Ali Bhutto.

The Shah was then aspiring to stabilize the whole region under his own control, and his SAVAK secret police agents operated in Kabul to eliminate left influence. PDP support to the Pashtouns in Pakistan was so strong that it aroused the hostility of some other ethnic groups within Afghanistan who object to the predominance of the Pashtouns. With about 40 percent of Afghanistan's some 16 million people, the Pashtouns are by far the largest of its score of ethnic groups.

The 1978 coup.

In April 1978, the violent repression of an airline pilots strike, followed by the assassination of a leading Parcham writer, Mir Akbar Khyber—apparently at government instigation—set off the biggest protest demonstrations ever seen in Kabul. Over 10,000 marched through the streets shouting anti-imperialist slogans. The Daoud government arrested Parcham and Khalq leaders and prepared to execute them. But the Afghan armed forces came to their rescue with a military coup on April 27 that installed Mohammed Taraki as head of state. The new regime turned to the USSR for aid of all kinds, including numerous military advisers.

Initially, the new government's democratic reform program scarcely differed from that of Daoud, but the PDP cadre went at it more in earnest. Khalq schoolteachers rushed enthusiastically into the countryside to spread modern education. In the villages, men, women and children were summoned to learn to read and write. Rather than expose their women to such dishonor, the villagers assassinated the schoolteachers.

Within the PDP, the more radical Khalq outnumbered Parcham, whose leaders were neutralized by being sent abroad as ambassadors. Taraki was reduced to a figurehead role as real power was in the hands of the party boss and prime minister Hafizullah Amin, who apparently employed the classic Stalinist device of swelling the ruling party's ranks with careerists and opportunists ready to take orders.

Stymied in its efforts to mobilize support beyond the towns, Khalq decided to go beyond the "democratic national" stage and initiate the "socialist construction" stage by launching a land reform to win over the mass of peasants. According to orthodox Marxist theory, the class struggle of the landless peasants against the landowners ought to provide the motor for social change.

Misreading the tribes.

By all accounts, the urban theorists had a very imperfect understanding of the rural tribal society they set out to turn upside down. The tribal chief, elected among the tribe's ten or so land-owning families, apparently commands a loyalty even over his landless subjects considerably greater than a "feudal" lord is supposed to. It also seems the peasants did not want to own land, but to have access to water and seed. Instead of isolating the landholders and setting off a social revolution, the regime isolated itself and set off widespread revolts.

Repercussions of the rural rebellions troubled the towns, where Amin brutally silenced critics, reducing and demoralizing the only social base the regime ever really had, the urban intelligentsia.

Within the Afghan Communist leadership, both Amin and his critics have reacted to failure in typical Stalinist fashion: there were no mistakes, there was simply the "treachery" of "imperialist agents."

Certainly there was and is a lot of unscrupulous firing in the troubled ethnic

waters of south central Asia. Pakistan's General Zia was ready to help turn the tables by arming Afghan Pashtouns against Kabul, but he is no great friend of Pashtouns and that aid could backfire. In northeastern Afghanistan, China supports anti-Soviet Maoist groups that seem to be having some success in the Turkmen, Tajik, Uzbek and Hazara ethnic minorities.

But the apologists for the Soviet invasion don't simply accuse the CIA of being behind such rebellions against Amin; they accuse it of being behind Amin himself as well.

Explaining Amin.

Babrak Karmal, brought to power by the Dec. 27 Soviet invasion/coup that overthrew and killed Amin, explained in an interview with the weekly *Afrique-Asie* that Amin's "massive repression was the conscious application of a plan worked out by the CIA. We know Amin was a CIA agent. His role was to destroy the party from the inside, by physically eliminating all its cadre and leaders, to discredit socialism and the Soviet Union in the people's eyes."

Babrak Karmal claimed that by attacking "our Islamic values," by disrupting the state apparatus and the economy, Amin was creating the best possible conditions for "an invasion of our country by imperialism according to a concerted plan of the U.S., China and regional reactionary circles."

This explanation at least makes clear what it is that has to be explained: the people's hatred for the regime and its Soviet backers, and the embarrassing fact that the Russians and Karmal himself cannot muster enough party people to run a government.

A French General Confederation of Labor (CGT) delegation that spent a week in Kabul late last month preferred to compare Hafizullah Amin to Pol Pot and to accuse him of "terror" and "exaggerations in everything" rather than of working for the CIA. Amin probably stepped up his terror as he realized that the Russians wanted to replace him and the Khalq radicals with more moderate Parchami. Potential replacements tended to disappear.

According to an unconfirmed version of events reported by *Le Monde Diplo-*



Left, Hafizullah Amin; right, Babrak Karmal.

The left parties, which draw their members from an educated, urban elite, have often misread Afghanistan's rural population. When zealous cadre rushed into the countryside to spread literacy, tribesmen who considered the education of women a grave insult assassinated the teachers.

matique, President Taraki stopped in Moscow on his way back from the Havana nonaligned countries meeting last September for consultations with Brezhnev and Babrak Karmal, and agreed to bring Parcham back into the government around a more moderate program of national democratic reforms. But Amin got wind of this and had Taraki murdered.

For the next three months, the Russians and Amin stalked each other. Neither dared simply repudiate the other for fear of the rising anti-communist rebellion. Amin was far too unpopular to try to rule without Russian aid. To regain support, Amin tried to row back to the moderate program Taraki had agreed to in September, but it was too late.

The new regime.

After Amin was overthrown, the new rulers made a big point of opening the jails to let political prisoners out. They apparently hoped to find enough martyred Parchami heroes of democracy in the prisons to fill the government offices. But many turned out to be dead, and it's a very wobbly government in Kabul that the USSR is propping up.

The CGT delegation, which cagily approached without embracing the French Communist Party defense of the Soviet intervention, tentatively concluded that the 1978 revolution had been welcomed by the population, but that Amin's excesses had totally discredited the revolution, the idea of socialism and the long-standing friendship with the USSR. "Today, there is no talk of socialism but of national and democratic revolution." Back to the earlier stage and a "broad front"...but with whom?

The French labor delegates acknowledged that they were unable to evaluate the strength of the insurrection or the general reaction outside Kabul to the Soviet intervention. But they drew this interesting conclusion: since the 1978 revolution had let down people's hopes, the "democratic" regime installed last December "lacks credibility" and "needs time to prove itself." That doesn't sound as if the Russians will be home in time for the Olympics.

The Soviet intervention occurred at a time when "the overwhelming majority of the Afghan population wanted a change," the CGT delegates declared with conviction. But what change?

All accounts suggest that the USSR let itself be sucked into the Afghan mess by a mixture of internal Afghan political intrigue and its own great power paranoia. But even if the USSR is not "expansionist by nature," it could turn out to be expansionist by opportunity. It remains to be seen if Afghanistan is an opportunity or a death trap.

Losing control.

If indeed Afghanistan is "Russia's Vietnam," there is no reason for anybody to rejoice. Vietnam showed that a popular resistance might defeat even the greatest military power, but it also showed that the military power could wreck the country that defeated it. Neither the profit motive, as championed by the U.S. and its clients like the Shah of Iran, nor class struggle as piloted by vanguard parties like the Khalq, is a reliable motor of progress—and napalm is certainly no better.

Claude Julien, editor of the prestigious *Monde Diplomatique* has been warning over the past months that both the U.S. and the USSR have lost control of events and crises they once were able to master. "The productive machine and the monetary system have gone mad, and the diplomatic machine is no longer working properly. This dangerous accumulation of disorders is pregnant with disasters," he wrote in his most recent editorial.

Julien noted that the careening crises of south central Asia are especially uncontrollable because they involve countries where large ethnic groups, such as the Kurds, Pashtouns and Balouches, overlap one or more national borders. "The military operations in Afghanistan are bound to cause population movements and streams of refugees that will further weaken the fragile regimes in office. Something has begun to move, and it would be presumptuous indeed of any great power to think it can hold this process in check."

Old School Ties

A view from the top,
at the 20th reunion of my
prep school graduating
class. By John Judis

The only part of *The Hill School Bulletin*, the alumni magazine for my prep school, that I usually read is the "Class Notes" at the back.

•Cal Hotchkiss reports he is "up to my ears in real estate in Philadelphia" but commutes each day to the Big Apple to pick up the lance for Kodak.

•George Forbes is vice-president of the Andrew Corporation. He also serves on the boards of the Hinsdale, Ill. Golf Club and the Midwest Industrial Management Association. George likes to ski in Colorado and Utah, to fish and camp in Canada and the Rockies, and to take winter vacations on islands where the scuba diving is good.

•The business of the Cochran Development Corporation of Houston, Texas is land. William S. "Bill" Cochran III is its president.

I have never sent any news to the Class Notes, but I like to imagine what could have appeared over the last years.

•John B. Judis has left graduate school and a career as a campus agitator on the advice of university administrators. John will be joining the Agenda Publishing Company in San Francisco, which puts out *Socialist Revolution*, a Marxist theoretical journal aimed at expunging the American ruling class.

•John B. Judis, after a six-year stint as an editor, is back on the unemployment lines again. When he is not standing on line for his own check, John passes the time handing out anti-government leaflets to his fellow vagrants.

•John B. Judis has joined *In These Times*, a socialist newsweekly. John enjoys being back in the industrial heartland. He and his wife, Susan, live in a third-story penthouse across the street from the Wonder Bread factory. "The smell is so strong in the summer," John reports, "that you don't even have to eat breakfast."

Last June was my twentieth reunion—a hallowed event for prep school alumni—and I spent six months debating whether to go. I might feel hopelessly out of place; I might be scorned and snubbed; worst of all, I might end up feeling like a failure at the sight of my conventionally successful classmates.

But curiosity and a perverse desire to throw myself into peculiar situations got the better of me. I also looked forward to seeing some of the classmates that I had been friends with.

It was drizzling when the airport bus left me off in Pottstown for the reunion. Pottstown is the decaying ex-steel town

that the Hill looks down upon, both socially and geographically.

I found the Class of '59 enjoying cocktails in front of the dormitory to which we had been assigned for the weekend. I had worn my only summer suit in fear of being outdressed, but most of my classmates were wearing loud polo shirts and patchwork trousers. Many had brought their sons, who were running around in little Hill School sweaters and t-shirts.

None of my friends had come. The reunion had mostly attracted the Wall Street or Broad Street (Philadelphia financiers and the large numbers of my classmates who had migrated to the Southwest to become developers and oilmen.

I had expected to be ignored, but I was immediately greeted by shouts of "Hey, Judis!" and "Look who's here." I was something of a curiosity just as I had been when I was there. "What are you doing now, Judis?" one classmate asked. "I bet you're trying to overthrow the government."

Another classmate, who used to stay with me at Amherst when he came down to visit his girlfriend at Smith, repeated several times the story of our drunkenly marching behind a Scotch Bagpipe troupe that was entertaining at a Smith mixer.

Later that evening, he cornered me and asked me whether I was going to send my son to the Hill. I could have said that I didn't have a son or that the Hill's Tuition amounted to approximately half my family's net earnings, but I had had a few drinks by then, and I decided to be bold.

"I didn't like it here myself," I said. "Why would I want to inflict it on my son? And besides, I don't like the idea of private schools."

He gazed at me in rapt astonishment. "Isn't it something," he said, "that the Hill could produce someone like you and someone like me?"

Since its founding in 1851, the Hill has served as a transmission belt to the Ivy League for the scions of wealthy WASP families from the Middle Atlantic and Midwestern states. Its alumni roster is studded with names like Firestone, Weyerhaeuser, Pew, Lovett, Bidle and Stimson.

I was one of five Jews in a class of 130. I was also a scholarship student. I had been raised on Chicago's Gold Coast, and as a toddler had played with the children of the Armours and the McCormicks, but when the Chicago dress busi-

ness collapsed after World War II my parents lost much of their money. We left Chicago, moving from city to city in search of lost riches. I carried my family's fondest hopes on my young shoulders.

Even by the time I came to the Hill, I had a growing ambivalence toward my ostensible mission in life—to crack America's higher circles. My parents' miseries had soured me on the business world. And a rough year at a junior high school in Palm Beach, Fla.—the first stop on my parents' hegira—had made me more aware of the difficulties a Jew has in fully assimilating. (If any American city has to be sacrificed to an atomic attack, my first choice would be Palm Beach.)

At the Hill, I carved out a small circle of friends based on my two passions—literature and wrestling. I was a successful student and a good enough 130-pounder to be offered several college athletic scholarships.

I was always on the lookout for anti-semitism, but during my first years I had little evidence of it. Several of the older Southern students did make a practice of shoving me off the sidewalk when they passed, but I didn't know whether it was because I was Jewish or because I was generally different. When I made the wrestling team, they left me alone.

But something that happened my senior year did have a great impact on me. One drizzly November evening, the headmaster called me into his study to discuss my choice of a college. He knew that I wanted to go to Harvard, but he had to warn me—the "Harvard man" (meaning the admissions representative who visited the Hill every fall) had never taken any Jewish boys, however excellent their qualifications. From prep schools like the Hill, he was mainly interested in the sons of socially prominent alumni, boys who would row crew and would populate the most socially prestigious Houses.

I was crushed. I had gone to an exclusive WASP school, compulsory chapel seven-times-a-week and twice-on-Sunday, only to be told I would have had a better chance getting into Harvard if I had gone to a public school. I couldn't even bring myself to explain to my parents why I didn't apply to Harvard, and for years they were furious with me for preferring Amherst.

My last winter and spring at the Hill I became increasingly estranged from the life around me. I became what I fancied to be a Zen Buddhist, spending long hours meditating on Zen Koans. I discovered Kierkegaard and the American poet Hart Crane, who ended his youthful career by jumping off an ocean liner into the

Gulf of Mexico. I wrote a senior thesis on "Death, Despair and the Truthful Man."

As graduation approached I had an incessant buzzing in my stomach, as if a miniature outboard motor were lodged there. I interpreted this to be a sign of approaching *satori*, but it was more likely the onset of an ulcer.

I spent two dreary years at Amherst, and then left for freedom, which for me in 1962 meant Berkeley, Calif.

On Saturday morning the alumni gathered in Memorial Hall—a stone, ivy-covered building with stained glass windows and wall-plaques honoring past achievement—to hear a report from the current headmaster, Charles C. "Chuck" Watson, and to meet some current Hill students.

Watson, a middle-aged man with a square jaw and a little turned-up nose, had become headmaster in 1973. When he took over the job, he said, the Hill was suffering from flagging enrollment and from student demands that it abandon its "traditions and standards of excellence." This included, Watson explained, not on-

Tom Greenfelder

ly its academic standards and its resistance to co-education, but also its insistence on regular chapel attendance, coats and ties to all classes and meals, and "a great deal of what I term gentlemanly behavior."

Watson reported that the "pendulum was now swinging back in the Hill's direction." Applications had picked up again, and parents were now looking to send their children to "the last traditional all-male boarding school on the East Coast."

Watson introduced the six students seated with him on the stage. Except for one Eastern-European "townie" from Pottstown, they were all WASPs. They were attired in the usual blue blazer or madras jacket with white pants and Bass loafers. I imagined that as soon as their weekend duties were over, they would head back to a sailboat summer on the Eastern shore.

Watson asked the students to tell the alumni what they had gotten out of their years at the Hill.

"I've been on my own," a blond-haired student from Greenwich, Conn., said. "you have to rely on yourself here. You have to learn to relate to people so you don't stick out."

This enunciation of the modern managerial ethos—self-reliance in the service of conformity—must have disturbed one of the older alumni. "When I went to the Hill," he commented, "we were taught that we were part of an elite. We were taught we were uncommon men. Are these students still being taught an elite attitude?"

"We certainly encourage that," Watson replied. "It is part of our tradition."

An alumna's wife was curious whether the students still were demanding girls at the Hill, as they had in the early '70s.

"If you had a group of girls here, it would be hard to have a school," one student replied.

"The Hill is a traditional school," another replied, "and coeducation is not traditional."

An alumna from the rebellious Class of '74 asked, "Wasn't there anything they didn't like about the Hill?"

Several students commented on headmaster Watson's having removed their "senior breakfast privileges," which had allowed them to skip weekday breakfasts.

An alumna from the Class of '54 asked the students if they saw themselves as apathetic. They roiled off a long list of activities, from choir to woodshop, in which they busied themselves.

I found the students' disavowal of co-education particularly sad. Many boarding school students are sent there because they have no home life or because their parents are moving each year. When I was at the Hill, I viewed the world of drive-ins and dates with distant awe.

Other students had their summers on the shore and their debutante flames, but they also lacked any except the most frenzied appreciation of women. When all-male boarding school students go to college, they descend on the genteel world of mixers and open houses like Hells Angels on a Sock Hop.

During the reunion, I had hoped that prominent alumni would lecture us on the mood of Wall Street or on corporate America's plans for the future, but most of the weekend was given over to school songs, wheelbarrow races, and fundraising reports. I passed up the songs and the races, but the alumni association meeting coincided with lunch.

I sat down with a classmate who had been known as one of the class wits during our time there. He was now a balding bond salesman on Wall Street. He regaled me with non-stop reminiscences: did I remember when "we" filled Ken Rugh's room so full of paper he couldn't get into it? Did I remember how "the Cow" (the nickname of a history teacher) used to roam around the locker room staring at students' crotches? Did I remember his fight with David Dickey when he gave Dickey a right cross just as Dickey was watching the coin toss that would determine whether they boxed or wrestled?

Another classmate sat down with us. He was one of the five Jews, and he was now a prosperous doctor in Virginia. I looked at him in vain for signs of recognition. He had come to the reunion to join in a singing tribute to the choir director, who was being honored for 25 years service. He had brought his son, who was being groomed for the Hill.

The lunch meeting was held under a huge striped tent that had been erected on the grassy quadrangle. The different reunion classes were introduced to whoops and huzzahs. Our dour class secretary, who had recently become vice-president of a Wall Street bank, was made president of the alumni association. It was announced to cheers that Bunker Hunt, one of H.L. Hunt's several sons to attend the Hill, had donated \$50,000 in matching funds for the occasion.

I found myself thinking about the "Cow." He had been my favorite teacher. By reputation, he had also been the only Democrat on the faculty. In my senior year, he had been dismissed for making advances upon an unwilling sophomore, who had stayed on campus during Thanksgiving holidays. When I returned from vacation, he was gone. My American history class was taken over by the typical bumbling prep school "master" whose main interest in history was the war.

I largely avoided talking politics with my classmates through most of the reunion. But as we stood on the verandah of Donner Hall Saturday night, drinking gin and tonics, I made an effort at least to learn what they thought.

A few classmates confessed to me that

they had become dissatisfied with the Republican party because it was too liberal. They had become interested in third party conservatism or the Libertarian party. "I'm to the right of Genghis Khan," was one of their favorite cracks.

One classmate had become a speech writer for Spiro Agnew during 1970-71, at the height of Agnew's crusade against "pusillanimous pussy-footers" and other enemies of reaction. He had become impatient, however, with what he saw as Agnew's lack of seriousness and ambition, and he had left for Houston to go into the oil business. He liked Houston because the people there were "ambitious, competitive, and optimistic." He expected to win a congressional seat in the near future.

Another classmate, reputed to be the richest member of the Class of '59, had become a multi-millionaire by acquiring part-ownership of oil wells all over North America. He came from an extremely wealthy and well-connected Main Line, Philadelphia family, but he saw his success in Horatio Alger terms, as purely a product of hard work and motivation.

"Socialism would be the end of me," he told me. "In socialist societies, people don't have to work. They don't have to worry about getting ahead." He advised me to "look at" Britain and Canada, both of which he regarded as socialist societies.

He saw America, under the misguided leadership of liberals, as hellbent toward a similar end. He took a jaundiced view of both Carter and his Republican challengers. But he particularly hated Teddy Kennedy. "He is a rich boy who never had to get his hands dirty," he said. He confided that he would be willing to spend a million dollars to deny Kennedy the presidency. But he added jokingly that it might be easier to have him killed

for five or 10 thousand dollars.

I was getting ready to go back to the dormitory for my last night at the Hill, when a classmate I hadn't known very well approached me.

"I am really curious why you came back here," he said. "I never expected to see you here."

By this time, I had no idea why I was there. I told him I had been in Philadelphia on business and had decided to detour to the Hill for the weekend.

He told me he had not been back since graduation and had only decided to come at the last minute. He had become a professor of architecture just outside of Chicago. I got another gin and tonic and we talked about Chicago architecture and politics. He was the first person I had talked to with any candor or ease.

When we were walking back to our dormitory, he gestured toward the sweep of the Hill with his hand. "You know I had a really hard time here, especially the first two years. I don't know how I survived. I didn't come from the same part of society. I got picked on all the time."

"I see some of these guys now (he mentioned one of our classmates who had come to the reunion). Some of them had an even worse time than I did. Now they're joking and talking about sending their kids here. I wonder whether they remember what it was like."

"You probably wouldn't send your kid here," he said.

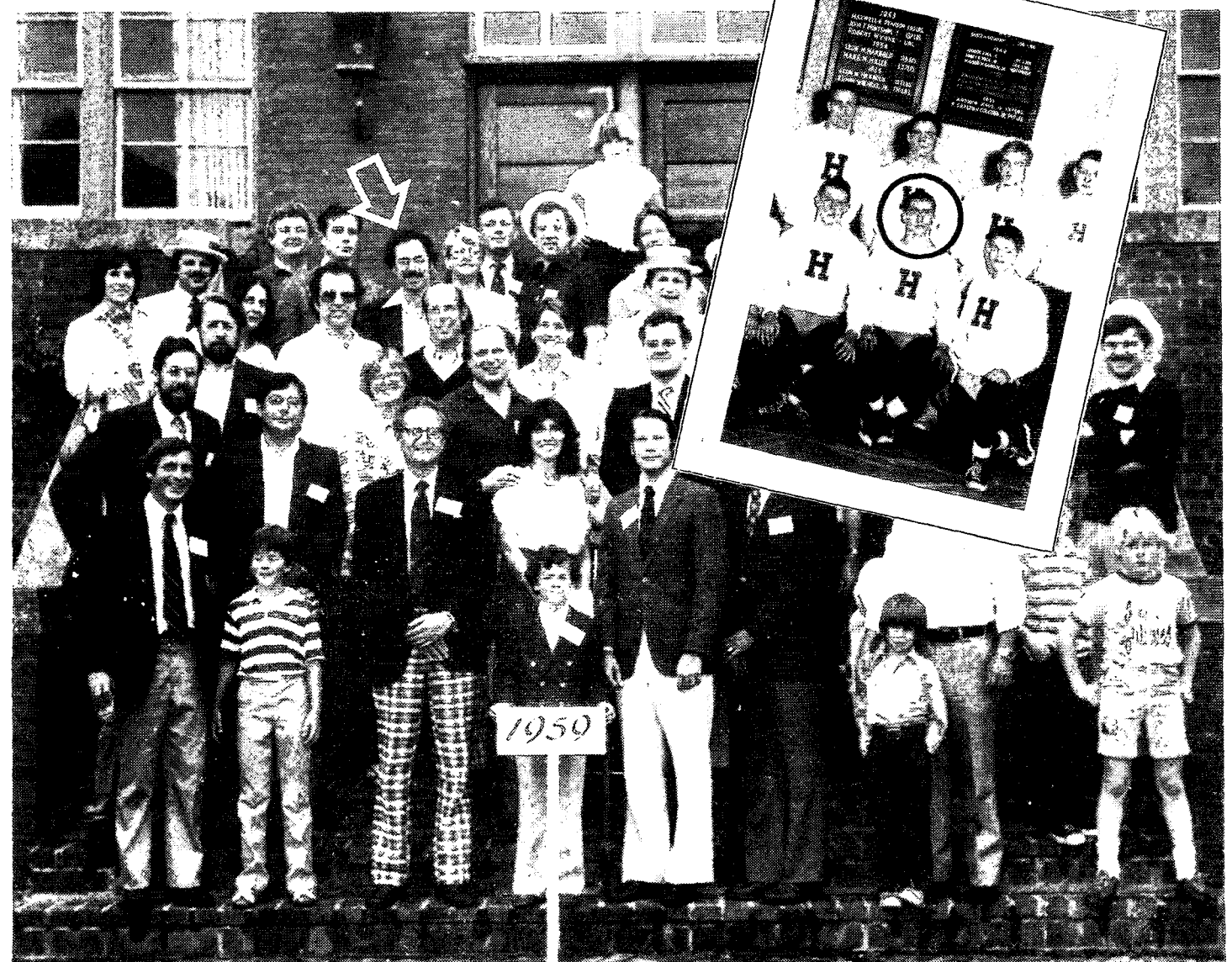
"No," I said.

"I don't know whether I would either," he said.

As we were entering the dormitory, I asked him why he had come back. In my alcoholic stupor, I couldn't distinguish his own reply from my dawning realization of why I had come.

"I wanted to feel the experience was behind me" was what I think he said. ■

The richest member of our class, an oil multimillionaire, said, "In socialist societies people don't have to work. Look at Britain and Canada."



John Judis (arrow) at the 20th reunion of the '59 class; inset, Judis (encircled) on the wrestling team in 1959.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

FORCED ABORTION

IF AUDREY PATTON (*ITT*, JAN. 23) HAD read my letter more carefully, she'd realized that I did not equate compulsory sterilization with free choice in abortion. I equated coerced sterilization with coerced abortion.

Patton says she has yet to hear of anyone advocating forced abortions. I assume she has little experience with shelter/support work for young and poor women. I've been involved in Women's Shelter work for eight years, and have seen many women threatened with unemployability or job loss, financial abandonment, loss of welfare and other benefits if they did not submit to abortion.

One example: Brenda, 23, a single mother of two, voluntarily placed her children in temporary foster care while she was in the process of moving and making some changes in her life. Then she became pregnant a third time. Without consulting her, her caseworker made an appointment for an abortion.

When Brenda objected, the caseworker angrily informed her that her "lack of cooperation" with the "treatment plan" would be put in her record, where it would harm her future advancement. Furthermore, the caseworker threatened to testify against Brenda when she attempted to regain custody of her other two children.

Abort this one, or lose the other two. That's coercion.

And that's not exceptional. It's becoming more and more common.

I have never endorsed the criminalization of abortion as a solution to this problem. In the legal sense, I am not "anti-choice" on abortion in the same ways that I would be "anti-choice" on, say, Saturday Night Special hand-guns.

-Jull Loesch
Erie, Pa.

AND WHAT ABOUT...

I AGREE WITH BRUCE DANCIS' REVIEW of Bob Marley and The Wailers' *Survival*, but why no mention of 1978's great *Babylon by Bus* live lps when he mentions the less interesting *Exodus* and *Kaya*?

J.H. Fisher
Tiffin, Ohio

Bruce Dancis replies: I reviewed (favorably) *BABYLON* in *ITT*, Dec. 27, 1978. In the *SURVIVAL* review, I was more interested in his songwriting, not his performance of his best standards.

GET WITH IT, KIDDIES

DOUBT IF THERE EVER WAS MUCH logical reason for combining socialism with anti-nuclear campaigning, and the excuse is that both appeal to young rebels. But I see no place for the anti-technology campaign in constructive socialist thinking—after all, socialism and a productive industrialism are not incompatible—but hard technology electrical energy sources clearly are essential to that industrial base. And nuclear is an indispensable component, in the view of those who understand the numbers.

I particularly object to errors of fact in support of that campaign; it demeans the campaign and the journal that publishes it.

For example, Mark Alan Pinsky (*ITT*, Feb. 6) refers to the "still un-

proven assertion that no radiation danger resulted from the TMI accident." I've studied the 98-page Kemeny Commission Staff report and must concur that the radiation exposures, when compared with natural background and making use of the superb Natural Academy of Science "Biological Effects of Ionizing Radiation" study, could only have had negligible effect.

Pinsky's "unproven assertion" is as childish as suggesting that a claim of no pneumonia deaths from last Tuesday's slight cold wave is an "unproven assertion." Of course, but why should common sense have to be "proven"?

Equating nuclear power with "obscene corporate profit" is another childish correlation that offends my intelligence (though I don't recall that you have been guilty). Socialism is not helped by demonstrating ignorance of how the capitalist system works. Socialism is not helped by creating an impression that it's the preserve of juveniles whose meager thought processes are founded on inadequate knowledge.

-R.M. Campbell
Cohasset, Mass.

WHO SAID WHAT?

DURING THE FIRST WEEK OF THE OCAW strike, I put up a big poster at my union hall, local 4-227, on which union members could tape various news articles on the strike. I was pleased to see your page four headline on the strike in this week's issue, and eager to take it down to the hall with me later today. Then I read the article (*ITT*, Feb. 6). Sloppy reporting does not sit well with strikers, and I don't want to see hostility against any paper claiming to be socialist. So I won't circulate it.

It's the *companies*, not the *union* (as your reporter writes) that oil workers are pushing to pay the \$125 a month toward medical insurance. The reference to picketers and motorists being drenched with crude oil when a valve burst at the Arco refinery is an exaggeration of an incident that in itself was serious. We need all the ammunition we can get against the oil companies on the safety issue, and there's plenty available without overstating the facts. I hope your next article on the strike will be more accurate.

-Jana Pellusch
member, OCAW local 4-227
on strike against Atlantic Richfield
Houston, Texas

Editor's Note: Our reporter wrote that OCAW "has been insisting" that the companies cover health costs. He quoted an OCAW official as saying, "We're asking for the companies to pay the entire cost of an adequate health care benefits plan." He did not say workers are pushing the union on this issue.

THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN, RUSSIAN STYLE I

DIANA JOHNSTONE REFERS TO Marchais' apology for the Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan as "astounding." I bow to her expertise in French politics, but it strikes me that if she were among the women of Afghanistan—98 percent illiterate and frequently traded for goats or hashish by their freedom-fighting patriarchs—she might be of a different mind set.

Fred Halliday has pointed out that urban educated women are among the staunchest supporters of the revolution in that country. Getting out of a shroud and into a school may be an idea alien to our "civilized" culture, but I'll bet it looms large in Afghanistan. Of course, I'm happy that Johnstone is not an illiterate Afghani, so I can continue to enjoy her lively commentaries. Knee jerk anti-sovietism can be fun, even in these cold war times.

-Frank Scott
San Rafael, Calif.

WHITE MAN'S BURDEN, II

IT COMES AS NO GREAT SURPRISE that *ITT* has come out against the Soviet "invasion" of Afghanistan. The basis of this position was given that "non-intervention (in the internal affairs of other nations) is a socialist principle."

True—but not abstracted out of the context of world politics and class struggle. It is American and Western European intervention that is creating the real tyranny in the Persian Gulf area as throughout the rest of Asia, and this has been the problem for over 100 years. As a socialist, I wish the Soviet government had intervened earlier rather than not at all. If the Soviet Union had intervened in Iran, we might not now be hearing about the horrors of the Shah's U.S.-backed regime. "Intervention" in the affairs of other nations on the side of the people is a principle that socialists do support, and this is the case in Afghanistan.

The real crime of the Soviet government is not in its "invasion" of Afghanistan but in its cringing policy of accepting trade agreements and phoney non-aggression pacts in exchange for giving up support to social struggles against capitalism throughout the world. This is called detente, and like the Stalin-Hitler pact is doomed to failure. Socialists should oppose this unrealizable "detente" of appeasement by the Soviet Union and support any and all efforts that aid social struggles against capitalist imperialism.

-Anthony Abdo
Portland, Ore.

STOP THE MADNESS

THE MORE I READ AND LISTEN AND think about the call for draft registration, the clearer it becomes that the only viable opposition to the draft and to war is refusal to register. Although a few (perhaps very few) will be able to obtain conscientious objector status on religious or moral grounds, they will be liable for some form of service, perhaps even within a military context. The rest, who are selective objectors, or who object to the whole procedure, or who are unable to convince the draft board of the seriousness of their beliefs, are going to have to face induction unless a massive movement for non-cooperation forces the government to back down, or at least makes enforcement a judicial nightmare.

A moral consideration for potential draftees, as well as for the rest of us, is whether to try to save one's own neck, or to take an action that places one in the company of thousands of others regardless of class or ethnic background. Should the select, educated few choose conscientious objection or medical or social deferments, or should they stand their ground and refuse to cooperate with a system that will strike hardest at the less privileged? Shall they save their necks at the expense of accepting the legitimacy of induction into a military apparatus whose primary use in recent years has been the control of third world countries on behalf of American economic interests?

"We must all hang together, or we shall all hang separately." This includes those over 26. If we let them get away with this, we will not only have sacrificed our younger friends, but we will also have encouraged the development

of a war that will mean possible use of nuclear weapons, and certain loss of civil rights in this country, not to mention the rest of the world.

Stop this madness, before it stops us! Don't register. Encourage others not to register.

-Ann Tattersall
Eugene, Ore.

CALENDAR

February 28-March 2

The 11th National Conference on Women and the Law, hosted by the women law students of the Golden Gate University, will be held in the San Francisco Civic Auditorium. Call 442-7258 for details.

March 4

"The Missing Chapter in American Film History: Labor Films of the Great Depression"—an evening of rare films with commentary by independent film pioneer Tom Brandon. At 7:30 p.m. at the I.A.M. Auditorium, 1300 Connecticut Ave., Washington, DC \$3.00. Sponsored by Magic Lantern Cinema and Capital Labor History Society. Magic Lantern will follow this program with six more weeks of labor films. For information and fee schedule, call (703) 548-0766.

March 6

See and discuss a Chicago-made film about women's health care that was recently censored from being aired by New York's public television station, WNET. *Chicago Maternity Center Story* is being shown on Thursday, 7:00 p.m., at the Lincoln Park branch of the Chicago Public Library, 959 W. Fullerton, Chicago. Admission is free.

March 6-8

"Peace in Search of Makers: Alternatives to the Arms Race," a symposium dealing with topics of the Soviet threat, economic conversion, new weaponry, and the draft, will be held at Bucknell University, in Lewisburg, Pa. William Sloane Coffin will deliver the keynote address. For more information call (717) 524-3480.

March 7

"The Political Economy of Poetry," a talk by Ron Silliman at the San Francisco Socialist School, 29 29th Street (off Mission), 8 p.m., \$2 or donation. Childcare available.

March 12

Making the Future Work: Lessons from Labor's Past with Fred Thompson, former IWW Northwest Labor Organizer, Spokane Teamsters for a Democratic Union, Seafirst Organizers. Concert by "Utah" Phillips. Sessions at "The Lodge," Spokane Falls Community College. Details from Ryegrass (509) 747-1925.

March 20

Michael Klair, director of the Militarism and Disarmament Project at the Institute for Policy Studies, will speak on "The New Cold War: Domestic and Foreign Implications," at Midwest Academy, 600 W. Fullerton, Chicago, Ill., at 7:30 p.m. Enter from Geneva Terrace. Admission: \$2.00. For further details, call (312) 975-3670.

March 22

No Registration, No Draft, No Cold War. National march and rally against the draft in Washington, D.C. For more information on how to help organize in your area, or to send needed contributions, contact: Mobilization Against the Draft (MAD), 853 Broadway, Room #851, New York, NY 10003. (212) 260-3270.

March 24-26

Symposium: We Shall Not Be Moved: the historical roots of agrarian protest; Ames, Iowa. Speakers include Fred Stover, H.L. Mitchell, Al Krebs, Helen and Scott Nearing, Donald Grubbs. Information: Agrarian Protest, 2828 Oakland, Ames, Iowa 50050.

MANNING MARABLE

A fundamental duality in the black experience

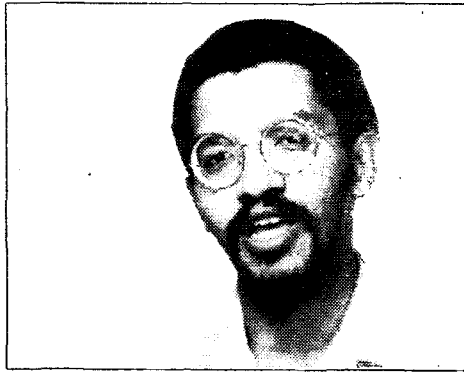
SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF John R. Russwurm and the Reverend Samuel E. Cornish's newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, on March 30, 1827, the black press has been an essential vehicle for the articulation of black America's demands for civil rights, economic equality and human dignity. Historians of the black experience have often neglected to pay sufficient note to the profound correlation between political activism within the black community and the vocation or pursuit of journalism. Indeed, it can be argued that the single most important figure in the history of the black movement for freedom has been the black journalist, the self-conscious polemicist and advocate for black rights within the framework of a racist state and society. Consistently and courageously, disregarding whites' threats and political attacks, the editors, publishers and essayists of the black press attempted to build a dialogue for greater interracial dialogue, political progress and a lessening of overt racist assaults against their communities. Their writings and their intellectual legacy constitute collectively a meaningful and relevant part of the total struggle for black self-determination in this nation's history.

From the 1840s until the present, black Black American cultural institutions have expressed a fundamental duality, or double consciousness—the search for racial unity and cultural separation, defined as black nationalism, and a movement to establish a black nation as integral participants within the existing and dominant social, economic and political institutions of white America. The division between black separatism and integration underscores the totality of black thought and ideology. It is not surprising, therefore, that it also forms the basis for the evolution of the Afro-American press.

The major advocate for integration in the mid-nineteenth century was Frederick Douglass. Born a slave, Douglass eventually became the most influential black political activist of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. He served with distinction as an orator, diplomat, Presidential adviser and fiery champion of civil rights for blacks and women. Yet his public prominence stemmed primarily from his activities as a journalist.

In the late 1840s, when Douglass suggested to his white abolitionist friends that he might start a black publication, he received few words of encouragement. The white "liberals" of Douglass' era were convinced that he had no technical training or expertise in the art of printing; that any anti-slavery newspaper aimed deliberately at the black masses would surely fail. Disregarding their advice, Douglass succeeded in raising the essential capital in England to initiate publication. On Nov. 1, 1847, Douglass' *North Star* was first issued.

From the beginning, the *North Star* had an electric impact on the reading public. As one journalism scholar notes, "The *North Star* was the beginning of a new era in the blackman's literature." The black newspaper assumed "at once a place among the first journals of the country; and Douglass drew around him a corps of contributors and correspondents from Europe, as well as from all parts of America and the West Indies, that was to his columns rich with the current literature of the world." Despite bitter opposition from the white South, Douglass advanced a comprehensive agenda for social and political reform, calling for the complete abolition of slav-

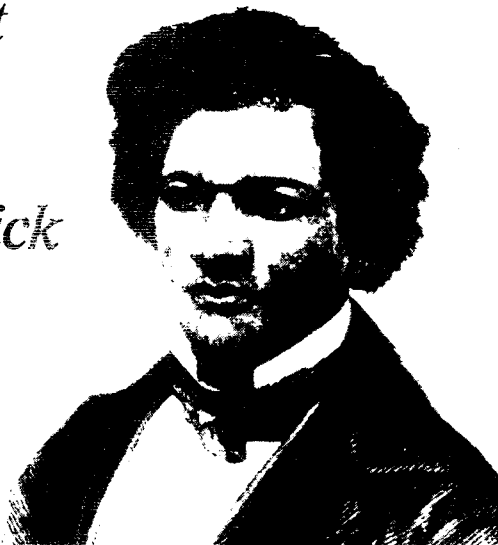


ery, the extension of the electoral franchise to black men, and the use of federal government monies to provide black educational and economic programs. Eventually, all these goals were achieved—thanks primarily to the leadership of Douglass.

As important as the *North Star* was to the freedom movement, it did not provide all of the solutions to the quest for black self-sufficiency and antebellum economic development. Douglass the integrationist looked outside the black community for the critical support of benevolent whites to champion our cause. Other lesser known activists, known only to their contemporaries and black histor-

Black journalism has been essential in articulating both the integrationist and the separatist tendencies in the black community ever since Frederick Douglass began publishing the North Star.

Frederick Douglass



ians today, searched for the solutions by looking within that black experience. These were the black nationalists—journalists like Henry Highland Garnett and William G. Allen, editors of *The National Watchman*; and Henry Bibb and James T. Holly, editors of the *Voice of the Fugitive*.

The greatest early proponent of black nationalism and racial pride was the "sharp-tongued," uncompromising militant, Martin R. Delany of Pittsburgh. In 1843 Delany published *The Mystery*, a weekly newspaper which advanced the principles of black self-defense and racial solidarity. Delany was convinced that black people had to fight for their civil rights; that no white allies could be trusted without reservation. "The liberty of no man is secure," he declared, "who does not control his own political destiny." He investigated the possibility of a mass black exodus to either Africa or Central America in the 1850s, and during the Civil War served as an officer in the Union Army.

II

The number of black newspapers continued to grow after the Civil War. With the birth of large numbers of elementary and secondary schools, the number of literate blacks increased dramatically. All had an unquenching thirst to learn; black

journalists provided the primary forums for the first thoughts and aspirations of these unfettered freedmen.

Into the late nineteenth century, in the face of the growing white demand for Jim Crow segregation, black editors like Timothy Thomas Fortune of the *New York Age* observed that black newspapers were "the only papers that are making a square, honest fight for the rights of our race." Unless black Americans provided fiscal and moral support for the black press "the contest for our just rights under the Constitution will remain pitifully unequal. We must realize this fact before we can expect to cope with the enemy."

The earlier division in black political and social thought between black nationalism and integration assumed more definite form during these years. Some black journalists, especially those influenced by Booker T. Washington, counseled racial separation and a reduced level of political agitation against Jim Crow laws. These conservative black nationalists depicted the real plight of the Negro as essentially economic, an oppressive situation alleviated only through the accumulation of private capital, or "Black Capitalism." Fortune's successor as editor of the *Age*, Fred. R. Moore, combined this faith in private enterprise with his journalistic advocacy of black economic rights. In 1893 he established the Afro-American Building and Loan Company, and in 1903 became national organizer of the National Negro Business League.

Militant integrationists like William Monroe Trotter dissented strongly from these opinions. Ideologically the descendant of Frederick Douglass, Trotter bitterly attacked Washington's "accommodation" to Jim Crow segregation, and disputed Tuskegee Institute's claim that industrial education was more beneficial to

and struggles of past black generations.

The age produced two leaders who towered above all others as the leading polemicists for black rights. One spoke to the traditional goals of a desegregated American society, and looked forward toward the day when racial distinctions in the law and public policy would no longer exist. The other advocated the vision of Martin Delany and, curiously, many of the ideas of Booker T. Washington—the need for black "self help," separate economic development, and a rejection of the politics of integration. Their names were Dr. W.E.B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey.

Noted for his scholarship, and especially for his books *Black Reconstruction*, the *Philadelphia Negro* and *The Souls of Black Folk*, DuBois actually devoted most of his adult life to the field of political journalism. From 1910 until 1934 he was the editor and intellectual spirit of the NAACP's journal, *The Crisis*. In the late 1920s DuBois began to write a regular book review column for the *Amsterdam News*. With his resignation from the NAACP, and his return to teaching at Atlanta University in 1934, DuBois began to allot greater time toward journalistic activities. In 1936-38 he wrote a weekly political column for the *Pittsburgh Courier*, and from 1939-44 he authored a similar series for the *Amsterdam News*. His popular writings on Africa appeared in Adam Clayton Powell's Harlem publication, *People's Voice*. Earlier in his career, his *Crisis* editorials were reprinted in virtually every major black publication.

Marcus Garvey's methods for broadcasting his demands for black self-determination paralleled DuBois' activities. Before coming to the U.S. from Jamaica, Garvey gained extensive experience in the art of political journalism. From 1910 to 1912 he established *Garvey's Watchman* in Jamaica, *La Prensa* in Panama and *La Nacion* in Costa Rica. After his forced expulsion from the U.S., he edited the *Blackman* in Jamaica. Garvey's black nationalist positions on economic and political matters were so frightening to the world's white authorities that many of his published works were banned or seized illegally. In Nigeria, the Gold Coast, the Gambia, Kenya and Northern Rhodesia, British and/or French officials confiscated copies of Garvey's newspapers. U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer placed Garvey's publications in his report on "Racialism and Sedition Among the Negroes as Reflected in Their Publications."

Garvey's greatest journalistic achievement was the *Negro World*, a Harlem newspaper published from 1918 to 1933. The paper was edited by a series of outstanding black political and social critics—W.A. Domingo, Hubert H. Harrison, John E. Bruce, and T. Thomas Fortune. The *Negro World's* sole aim was the political and cultural education of all peoples of African descent. As historian Tony Martin observes, "The *Negro World* penetrated every area where black folk lived and had regular readers as far away as Australia." It was a "factor in uprisings and unrest in such diverse places as Dahomey, British Honduras, Kenya, Trinidad, and Cuba."

Garvey and DuBois eventually perceived each as the other's bitterest political enemy. DuBois observed in the May 1924 issue of the *Crisis* that "Marcus Garvey is, without doubt, the most dangerous enemy of the Negro race in America and in the world. He is either a lunatic or a traitor." For his part, Garvey defended his plan for the repatriation of a number of U.S. blacks back to Africa, and condemned DuBois' integrationist policies as "traitorous." Ironically, neither man comprehended the common elements of their respective social and economic programs in order to find an effective political compromise. Yet both, each in his own way, provided the critical legacy for the social unrest and activism that later became the Civil Rights and Black Power movements. Dr. Manning Marable teaches history at the African Studies and Research Center, Cornell University. He is the author of a new book on black politics, *From the Grassroots*, and is a leader of the National Black Political Assembly.

DIALOG

A realistic alternative to Carter's policies is needed

By Neil Kotler

JOHN JUDIS, AN OTHERWISE MASTERFUL ANALYST ON economic and political issues, offered a flawed interpretation of the intricate foreign policy issues that envelop us today (ITT, Jan. 23). Judis' article surveys the transformations of Carter policy, in particular the reversal from the policies Carter articulated at Notre Dame in May 1977. There is, indeed, much to criticize and even deplore about this transformation. Serious questions can be raised about the genuineness of Carter's original posture in calling for a reduction in the nuclear arms race, and yet offering no real arms reduction initiatives, even including SALT II; in voicing concern over American merchandising of arms in the world without taking control over the process; or in declaring a serious intent in alleviating problems in the Third World without really addressing the economic and human needs of developing and revolutionary societies. The case can also be made that whatever Carter's policies, he exhibited singular ineptitude, inconstancy, timidity and indecision in his approach to their imple-

mentation.
Having said that, every high-level foreign policy decision involves considerable cost. Most decisions of this kind, unfortunately, are made with less than complete information, are done under the pressures of time, are influenced by divergent and external considerations and are likely to have unanticipated consequences. The pressures on decision-makers are enormous, and this kind of environment has to be weighed in any careful analysis of Carter policy.

Carter's present posture did not occur

in a vacuum. He did not rekindle the cold war in sending the deputy NATO commander to Iran to forestall a military coup, once the Shah was defeated. Nor did he act belligerently in dealing with the revolution in Nicaragua, or in failing to raise proxy armies in the horn of Africa and the Saudi Peninsula, as the Russians had, or in going to war over Soviet advisors in Cuba.

Judis' analysis fails to come to terms with a very large question in the world—what the Russians are up to and the danger it poses. Judis' only significant reference to the Soviets is a quote by Michael Klare, who suggests the Soviets are behaving defensively (presumably, they continue to expand their empire out of fear of what the West is doing). This kind of apologetics, really, is either evasive, myopic or ideological.

The facts of Soviet behavior are clear. The Afghanistan invasion was well-planned, brutal and complete. (Those who find legitimacy in the Brezhnev Doctrine certifying the Soviets' right to intervene to maintain Soviet socialist societies ought to argue this openly.) The Soviets have expanded their military and political presence consistently. Their aggressiveness also happens to be buttressed by what surely is the most closed and oppressive society on the face of the earth. Of this reality, we only have to read Sakharov's statement prepared for the Norwegian Nobel Committee in 1977, or reflect upon Soviet treatment of dissent, or the nature of their media and the "doublethink" they purvey both to their own people and export to the world.

Judis does not deal with the question of Soviet actions and intentions. Were he to, there undoubtedly would be lively and reasonable disagreement in interpreting it. But without raising the question, we remain stuck in the old categories and unable to entertain useful and concrete proposals on how to get out of the mess we are in.

Carter is, indeed, going unchallenged in his present policies. He needs to be challenged, especially because just as a Nixon could win support for initiatives with China that most Democrats could not, so too can a Carter, with a reputation for decency and restraint, also win support for potentially dangerous and indefensible actions in the world. His handling of the economy has been atrocious. His own version of projecting American power—focusing, once again, on throwing away, indiscriminately, military hardware and assistance, which Vietnam and Iran ought to have counseled us against—could lead us down a very dangerous road. The impact of his latest policies on our society—on domestic and human resource programs, the cities, inflation and unemployment, on our continuing energy dependency could be disastrous.

Yet the remarkable thing is that there is virtually no solid analysis of reasonable alternatives or credible political opposition rooted in decent alternatives. It seems as if Carter now can win public acceptance of virtually any measure.

It is not enough for the left to come forth with generalities that pretend to be alternatives, as Judis attempted at the end of his article. The turmoil in the world—its sheer complexity, the local roots, the diffusion of weaponry—defies wishful thinking or ideological slogans.

The left cannot evade these issues. It ought not to be an apologist for either of the super-powers, and in fact can profit by taking a vantage-point outside of them. A start is to propose a far-reaching policy of Third-World non-military assistance and a world commitment that includes the education of decision-makers and citizens alike in understanding its cultural diversity, including training in languages, which has always been an American weakness. Opposition to Carter must continue to criticize the American penchant for military solutions and the damage that will be done to our domestic well-being.

But this still leaves us with the question of dealing with the Soviets and the prospects of global military confrontation. Just as we cannot afford to leave unchallenged the seductiveness of Carter's present approach, nor can we avoid defining responsibly the real interests that the U.S. and the West have, and how those interests can be defended against aggressive adversaries.

Neil Kotler is a congressional aide in Washington, D.C.

John Judis replies:

Neil Kotler is right: my article dealt only briefly with Soviet intentions and with a clear longterm alternative to Carter's foreign policy. But I don't think he understands what I did say.

I did not defend the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and I certainly would not condone the Soviet treatment of Sakharov. Moreover, I said that Soviet and Cuban actions in Africa and South Asia did contribute toward the change in Carter's policy. But I qualified this in two significant ways:

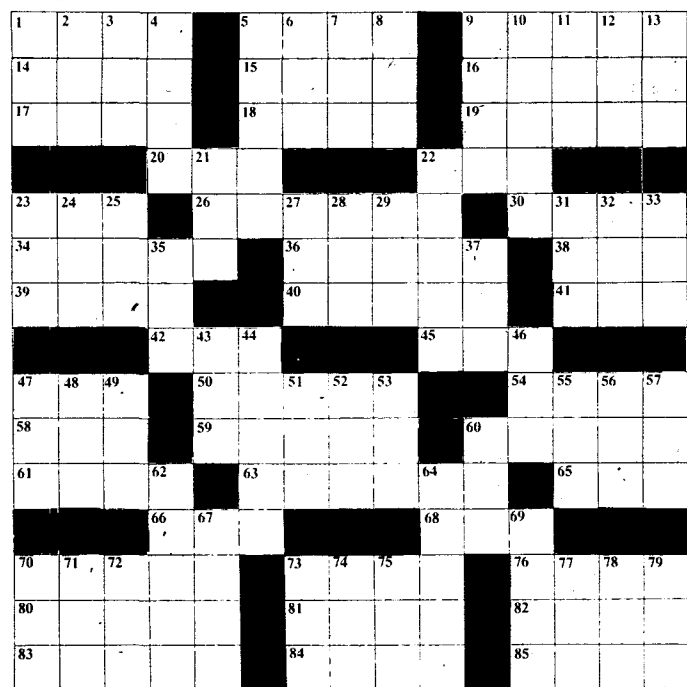
1) Carter's response to these actions was not simply tit-for-tat, but has entailed his final acceptance of a new aggressive, militaristic foreign policy promulgated by National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski. This outlook tends to exaggerate Soviet intentions—to see the invasion of Afghanistan as the first thrust into the Persian Gulf rather than as an attempt to firm up a border satellite. It uses this exaggeration (the Soviet invasion is the "greatest threat to world peace since World War II.") to justify abandoning SALT II, increasing defense spending 5 percent, reestablishing draft registration and advancing military aid to unpopular, unstable, but anti-Communist Third World dictators.

2) The gradual adoption of this new foreign policy helped inspire, but, of course, did not justify, Soviet and Cuban actions. For instance, the Soviet military buildup—and the invasion of Afghanistan—came in the wake of the Carter administration's alignment with China against the Soviet Union, its having isolated the Soviet Union from the Mideast peace process, and its having won acceptance for stationing American nuclear missiles on West German soil. These actions, along with war cries from Congress, helped create a self-fulfilling prophecy about Soviet policy.

In so far as Sen. Henry Jackson is now advocating mobilization of the reserves and the Republican candidates are favoring a naval blockade of Iran, Carter remains a "moderate," but his ability to station himself one step away from total insanity hardly merits our praise or forbearance.

ALLIANCES

By David Mermelstein



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TICKETS

By David Mermelstein



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PERSPECTIVES

Cambodian relief is being used to bolster Pol Pot

By Susan George

ON FEBRUARY 3, SOME HUNDRED INTELLECTUALS, POLITICAL notables and assorted celebrities landed in Bangkok and started off on a "March for Survival" towards the Thai-Cambodian border. Most of them were French, but several Americans, including Joan Baez and Coretta King, joined the march, organized by Medecins sans Frontieres (Doctors without Frontiers) and supported by International Action Against Hunger (IACH). I was a member of the latter until the decision to support this action was taken. The Paris daily *LE MONDE* published the following article on Jan. 31. I have added a few details that have come to my notice since then.

How can we learn the truth about Cambodia today when well-intentioned people are about to undertake an ill-advised action which may only help the murderers of the Cambodian people and the new Sino-American alliance? A "March for Survival" towards the Thai-Cambodian border, organized by *Medecins sans Frontieres* and supported by International Action Against Hunger intends to proclaim that "thronges of beggars are dying...under the Vietnamese yoke"; that they are being "methodically starved at the very doors of the warehouses where food aid is stored," as Bernard-Henry Levy recently put it, speaking for IACH.

A great many French and foreign eyewitnesses deny this: food aid is being efficiently distributed, although very serious problems remain. But Cambodia is no longer in a state of famine and is coming back to life, thanks to international solidarity. *Medecins sans Frontieres* reply that witnesses from national or international organizations do not have an overall picture, frequently know only what has happened to their own aid, and remind us that foreigners in Russia in the early '20s painted a rosy picture whereas millions of people were dying of hunger.

Who are we to believe? In order to stay out of the internal quarrels of French organizations and political parties, I shall only quote foreign sources, like Brian Walker, Director of Oxfam and coordinator of the Consortium of 30 private aid organizations active in Cambodia. Walker, just back from Cambodia, declared that food aid is reaching the people in spite of the incredible obstacles created by the Pol Pot regime's destruction of physical infrastructures and massacre of nearly all professionally qualified Cambodian people. He notes that aid from socialist countries (mainly Vietnam and the USSR) was distributed long before the international organizations came on the scene. Although he finds the figure of 200,000 tons quoted by the Vietnamese authorities somewhat exaggerated, he does believe that this aid made the difference between famine and malnutrition. The Consortium he heads, after three months in the field, decided in November to continue its program because it was satisfied with the aid distribution.

On Christmas day, representatives of the Consortium, as well as those of the Ecumenical Council, UNICEF and the International Red Cross, stated that "in spite of material difficulties, international aid is reaching the population."

This leaves the political problems. Eugene Stockwell, the U.S. National Council of Churches' representative in Cambodia and member of the Presidential Commission on Hunger, analyzes the

situation this way: "It was the Vietnamese army that put an end to...the Pol Pot murder and genocide. Whether we like it or not, at the moment the Vietnamese army is about the only force strong enough to guarantee a minimal stability in Cambodia, and if humanitarian assistance of food and medicine is to reach Cambodia's needy, such stability is absolutely necessary.... It is difficult to imagine that the attack on the famine and disease that now exists could be more successful if the Vietnamese troops were immediately withdrawn.... Experience to date in Cambodia is generally encouraging—what food and medicine are getting into the country are being delivered as intended and distributed reasonably well, given the immense problems..."

Let us nevertheless assume, as a hypothesis, that the value of this testimony is

The "March for Survival" has become a tool of Chinese and the Carter administration's attempts to undermine Heng Samrin.

nil: Is a direct confrontation with the Vietnamese and Cambodian authorities on the Thai border the best way to insure that international aid gets through?

We should not forget that the vast majority of the "international community" still recognizes the Pol Pot regime. Last July, Cambodia made a written request for emergency food and medical aid to the International Red Cross. In late September, the respected English journalist John Pilger quoted a senior British official as saying, "The Red Cross (ICRC) and UNICEF are fully aware of how urgent the situation is.... Both have been blocked by politics. The Pol Pot regime is still recognized by the General Assembly and UNICEF has become ensnared in the anti-Vietnam campaign. The ICRC may protect its neutrality, but it has become susceptible to pressure, mostly from Washington, not to rush into Cambodia as this may well lead to *de facto* recognition of the Heng Samrin government and blow away the notion of Vietnam as 'aggressor' and the main obstacle to getting relief in. The ICRC also wants a foothold in China, and China is Pol Pot's most powerful ally. It is a nasty, messy business."

Three weeks later, Pilger reported that these two organizations had only sent 100 tons of aid and that this tragically small quantity "accurately reflects the twisted politics of the West towards Cambodia. The aim of these politics is... to structure aid to Cambodia in such a way as to give minimum legitimacy to Heng Samrin and maximum help to Pol Pot." The Khmer government insisted that the Khmer Rouge not receive aid: the international organizations refused

this condition as "inacceptable" and contrary to their constitutions. Meanwhile, they demanded "absolute license, a radio station, diplomatic status. They want powers and assurances that would make them more powerful than the government in Phnom Penh," according to another English journalist posted in Bangkok. It is understandable that relations between these powerful bureaucracies (their local representatives are not to blame) and the Khmer government are strained, to say the least.

How could two humanitarian organizations betray their stated goals for so many months? "Why," asked Pilger, "don't they scuttle their transparently political conditions and get on with saving the Khmer people?" For him the answer is obvious: "Most of UNICEF's budget comes from the U.S. government...for all its pretensions of neutrality, the Red Cross depends on mostly Western exchequers for its funds. 'If we run counter to the interests of certain governments,' the ICRC official told me, 'we run the risk of not getting any money'."

It is likely that many Cambodians are against a long-term Vietnamese occupation, but eyewitnesses agree that, above all, they fear Pol Pot's return. Now, according to Senator McGovern's analysis, "China...still seeks a military solution in Cambodia by its support for the Pol Pot guerrilla warfare.... And it is reserving the right to invade Vietnam again.... But instead of playing a balanced role to stabilize the area, the U.S. has tilted visibly towards China. This basic orientation has been evident through a series of moves, including Brzezinski's confirmation in China in 1978 that the U.S. and China would engage in 'parallel pursuit of our similar objectives'.... The U.S. is now in the uncomfortable position of tactically supporting irresponsible Chinese policies by offering what amounts to unconditional political economic and diplomatic support for China." This necessarily forces Vietnam to increase its dependence on the Soviet Union, whereas "China continues to pressure Thai-

land to funnel arms to the Pol Pot guerrilla forces in Cambodia or in Thai camps." Furthermore, in 1979, the U.S. delivered arms worth \$400 million to Thailand—four times the amount sent in previous years. If the Vietnamese withdrew from Cambodia now, they would be open to a Chinese attack aimed at restoring the Khmer Rouge regime with tacit and tactical American support. The Khmer and Vietnamese authorities seem to have good reason to try to exert strict control over the Thai-Cambodian border.

But it is precisely this border that the March for Survival intends to cross. (*Le Monde*, Feb. 2, reported that *Medecins sans Frontieres* backtracked and announced that they would "not enter Cambodia unless invited to do so"—an unlikely event.) This can only be seen, from Hanoi and Phnom Penh's viewpoint, as a provocation or a Trojan Horse and will guarantee refusal of the aid supplies *MsF* is bringing along. The organizers' fallback position is to distribute the aid to refugees in Thailand, where it may very well reach the black market and be used to procure arms for the guerrillas, as has frequently happened the past few months.

I do not know why *Medecins sans Frontieres*' requests to send medical teams to Cambodia have been refused (one of their members visited Cambodia in August) but it may be because they have not offered to integrate them with the government's own health and nutrition strategy. But as a member of IACH, I do know that this organization has not yet requested any authorizations from the Khmer government, although it has announced publicly that certain French

towns will be "twinning" with Cambodian towns and will take responsibility for helping them get back on their feet. By joining the March, IACH has insured the refusal of its participation in Cambodia's reconstruction—yet help will be sorely needed at least until the end of 1980.

A French colleague who returned from Cambodia Jan. 15 had a telephone call from Bangkok last week. The representative of one of the major international organizations was on the line to ask him if the March could be stopped. "Everybody's talking about it here. It's going to make our work much more difficult and perhaps destroy the cooperative attitude the Khmer authorities have shown up to now."

I was away when IACH decided to lend its name, as an organization, to the March, so I cannot say whether this was because of a lack of valid information, merely rash, or out of tacit approval for the current Sino-American strategy. In any event, IACH has now contradicted its own principles by excluding itself from future action on behalf of the Cambodian people. Since I must refuse solidarity for this action, I must also, regretfully, resign.

Susan George is a Senior Fellow of the Transnational Institute, the international program of the Institute for Policy Studies, and author of How the Other Half Dies: The Real Reasons for World Hunger (published in the U.S. by Alenheld, Osmun & Co.).

DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for their listing.

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SOCIALIST ORGANIZING
COMMITTEE
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MIDWEST ACADEMY
600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

NATIONAL CENTER FOR
ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES
2000 P Street, N.W. Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

NAM-NEW AMERICAN
MOVEMENT
3244 N. Clark St.
Chicago, IL 60657

NEW PATRIOT ALLIANCE
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305
Chicago, IL 60604

SOCIALIST PARTY, U.S.A.
Suite 325
135 W. Wells Street
Milwaukee, WI 53203

WORKING WOMEN
1258 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44111

New Mexico prison

Continued from page 6.

Herrera, and Rodriguez resigned in protest. But after a meeting between the Governor and Rodriguez, Salazar was called to the state house and informed that the governor had countermanded the firing of Herrera and recalled the resignation of warden Rodriguez.

Salazar then offered his own resignation "in the hope that someday a modern professional and progressive correctional system will be instituted in this state where both recidivism and the cruel education of young, first offenders to be old, multiple offenders will be at least minimized in our state penal institutions."

Over the past 10 years, Salazar has offered his recommendations for penal reform to every new state administration, only to see them ignored or fall victim to political infighting. Salazar is now a private psychologist in Albuquerque, and his nemesis, Rodriguez, is deputy secretary of corrections.

What allows this system to flourish, say various reform advocates, is widespread public apathy, a closed state political system, and the fact that most inmates are minorities.

Chicanos comprise nearly 70 percent of the inmate population; blacks, 10 percent; Native Americans, 2 percent; and whites, 18 percent. Yet Chicanos represent only about 35 percent of the state population, while blacks are 2 percent and Native Americans 6 percent.

With a per capita income ranking that fluctuates among the lowest of all the states (currently 43rd), political patronage plays a critical economic role in most New Mexico counties and communities. As a result, legislators, agency heads, and state bureaucrats wield tremendous economic and political power. And the prison system, loaded with jobs, is not exempt from the whims of state politics.

Former inmates, former guards and former employees at the penitentiary who did not want their names used, charged that top prison officials used their positions for corrupt schemes. Among the alleged misconducts:

- prisoners who were ex-GIs were allowed to sign up for college courses in return for their monthly subsistence checks from the federal government;

- personal possessions of inmates were often not returned after shakedowns. Rings, watches and other jewelry collected during security searches simply disappeared into the pockets of prison officials;

- sides of beef, ice cream, canned goods and other foods bought for the prison cafeteria were carted out by prison officials for their own use or resale to friends or relatives;

- the prison dry cleaning shop was used by prison officials to dry clean their own wardrobes, and a dry cleaning service, including pick-up and delivery, was organized for profit by prison officials.

According to local civil rights lawyer Steve Farber, who has represented scores of convicts in the past decade, "I've been told by a number of inmates that a substantial quantity of state goods supposed to be used for inmates has been diverted from the institution and used for families of officers."

A former director of education at the prison, Donald Simmermacher, recalls that when he began looking to outside funding sources to buy books for the prison, "the administration became very uncomfortable. Now this is speculation on my part," he says, "but the distinct feeling I got was that the administration didn't want outside funds because they feared an outside audit."

The few Chicano legislators who have questioned prison policies in recent years have been urged on by minority constitu-

ents whose sons and brothers fill the penitentiary. But the traditional political power base enjoyed by Chicano politicians in the past is rapidly eroding, victim of the sunbelt immigration into the state by whites.

These new immigrants have already elected new state representatives and senators who reflect a generally punitive attitude toward prisoners, and who have a fiscally conservative approach to criminal rehabilitation.

Leadership in both houses of the state legislature changed during the last session, when a coalition of mostly Chicano liberal and progressive legislators was displaced by a coalition of rural, mostly white, southern New Mexico and Albuquerque conservatives.

One product of the new mentality is the rigid determinant sentencing law passed last year. It forces judges to give flat sentences and denies inmates any opportunity for parole. New Mexico District Court Judge Gene Franchini said the law was more than just a determinate sentencing act. "It's really a mandatory sentencing law. It is regressive because it

disbanded the parole board, it forced judges to give mandatory sentences in most cases, and it gave judges absolutely no leeway in matching the punishment to the crime."

The New Mexico state legislature is presently in session, and there is talk of calling a special session to assess the damages and appropriate the necessary funds for rebuilding or replacing the prison. But none of the early discussions among legislators in the aftermath of the riot has suggested they see the need for change. All talk is focused in replacing what was already there.

Meanwhile, judges, lawyers, clergy and other people throughout New Mexico are re-forming a group called Committee of Concerned Citizens for Correction. They hope events will convince the legislature to implement sweeping changes in the penal system, especially in the construction of medium and minimum security facilities scattered throughout the state, rather than a massive reconstruction of the present maximum security facility at Santa Fe.

©Pacific News Service

FTC

Continued from page 6.

Although these two specific restrictions were included in the House bill, Scheuer said its philosophy was to give Congress the chance to review final FTC actions and then overturn them when necessary rather than to stop them in the middle.

The Senate preferred to give more specific direction before the agency acted. The bill it passed on Feb. 7 by a vote of 77 to 13, would cut back FTC powers. The agency's current proceedings on proposed rules on television advertising to children would be terminated under the Senate bill along with the role of consumer product standard-setting groups. The changes proposed by the Senate would also bar the agency from investigating the insurance industry.

Rejecting legislative veto by a vote of

44-53, the Senate did approve a congressional review of FTC rules. By a vote of 87-10, it passed an amendment by Senators Carl Levin (D-Mich.) and David L. Boren (D-Okla.) that would allow up to 80 days for Congress to pass a bill overturning an FTC action and for the president to sign it.

Some senators agree with Carter that legislative veto is unconstitutional. But the Levin-Boren alternative would give Congress time to act through standard law-making channels.

Senator Harrison "Jack" Schmitt (R-N.M.), who sponsored a legislative-veto amendment in the Senate, argued that the veto is constitutional because the FTC is an arm of the Congress, not the executive branch. The veto is needed, Schmitt said, because unelected bureaucrats are in effect making law through FTC rulemaking powers, while only Congress has the authority to legislate.

Some congressional observers speculate that the closeness of the Senate vote on legislative veto may indicate that the Senate conferees will cave in on the issue, especially considering that the House has insisted on it for years.

But Ford said he will hold firm in conference. "You can bet your sweet bippy that the 87-10 vote for Levin-Boren is enough for me to stick with the alternative [Levin-Boren]," Ford said in an interview. He added that he believes Carter would accept the Levin-Boren provision.

FTC Chairman Michael Pertschuk said the agency and Carter still have reservations that the review measure would cause delays in the implementation of rules. But Pertschuk said this review measure "is something we can live with."

Judy Sarasohn is on the staff of Congressional Quarterly.

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—Virginia Durr (*ITT Review*, Nov. 7, 1979)

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By David Moberg, In These Times Associate Editor

A REPORT ON SHUTTERED FACTORIES AND SHATTERED COMMUNITIES.

When an important factory or other place of work shuts down, the effect on the workers and on the entire community can be traumatic and catastrophic. These shutdowns also raise important questions about the limitations of a capitalistic economy:

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In SHUTDOWN, David Moberg addresses these questions and offers provocative alternatives to the unnecessary waste of human resources.

SHUTDOWN is a four-part series of articles that originally appeared in the June 1979 issues of IN THESE TIMES, and has been reprinted as a pamphlet. (24 pages/\$1.25 each or 75¢ for orders of ten or more)

Please send me _____ copies of SHUTDOWN. Mail to 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill., 60622.

»SPORTSCENE«

By Anita Diamant

COLLEGE SPORTS

BOSTON

Junior college basketball may make the news in Texas, but in Boston you're more likely to read about regular season play in the Boston Neighborhood Basketball League (BNBL) than about Roxbury Community College's women's team, the Expressettes. But the Expressettes have gone to national championships four times, producing two A-I American players along the way.

The Expressettes are the entire women's athletic program at RCC. They have neither a gym nor any athletic budget to speak of. The RCC Express (the men's team) and the Expressettes practice and play at a local high school, and the women are still using the same basketballs they were issued four years ago.

"We may be the winningest team in the league," said coach Leon Clayton, "but we're also the poorest."

RCC is the stepchild of the Massachusetts community college system. It has no permanent home, since proposed construction has been stymied for a number of Byzantine reasons, most recently by conservative Governor Ed King's reluctance to commit funds to a school that serves a student body over 90 percent black.

But the college persists, largely as a result of committed neighborhood activists. The Expressettes were born four years ago, the brainchild of Willie Booker, RCC's athletic director and men's coach. Booker sweet-talked Alfreda Harris of the Boston Parks Department into volunteering as coach. Clayton came on as her assistant and a dynasty was born.

"The first year we played, one coach sat on her bench and knitted. I won't say which team," Clayton said gallantly, "but we beat them by 70 points."

No knitting.

No one's knitting on the bench anymore. The boom in women's athletics has hit New England's two-year colleges, where unprecedented support—which is to say *any* support—for women's basketball is beginning to translate into better action on the court.

"Roxbury is in the forefront of development of women's basketball here," Clayton said. "A lot of other teams are becoming more competitive because of us. When we first started, we never saw scouting. Now they come and scout our team."

Roxbury had already put New England on the map before Boston University started pouring money into its women's program, which is now recognized all over the country. Last year, when RCC was one of the five top junior college teams in the country, All-American Shebra LeGrant attracted scouts from half a dozen universities. She ended up at the University of Kansas, where, Harris says, she's having a very good year.

Alfreda Harris is coach, tutor, and aunt to the Expressettes. She keeps track of "the young ladies," as she calls them, who played on her teams between 1971 and last year, when she left the job to Clayton. Many of her former players have gone on to



This year's team has no bench strength, but coaches hope for another shot at the nationals.

Roxbury women play champion basketball

four-year colleges on athletic scholarships, which goes a long way toward explaining her full-time commitment to athletics for city kids.

Harris, a life-long Roxbury resident, learned to play basketball at a neighborhood recreation center, where she met John Shelburne. "He was the father I didn't have, and I spent a lot of time with him there," she says. "One of the main activities was sports." Harris did her mentor and teacher proud by playing on four high school championship teams.

After she graduated from high school, Harris went to work for the Parks Department, where 12 years ago she helped start the BNBL. Two years later, she persuaded Coca-Cola to sponsor a women's division in the BNBL, and she became an accomplished coach in her own program.

The RCC team gave Harris the chance to keep the high-school girls she met the BNBL moving in what she saw as a positive direction.

"A lot of the young ladies just out of high school hadn't thought about continuing their education. It was a good time to begin a program. I convinced some of the girls that life would be better if they continued their education, and since they liked to play basketball, well, this was a way to get them interested."

Harris thinks junior colleges offer a place for inner-city kids to develop the basketball skills

Their coach runs a remedial program plus prep school for inner-city students.



Star player Mon Thurman with longtime coach Alfreda Harris.

and the study habits they'll need at four-year schools. She was always as strict about grades as she was about basketball fundamentals, running a sort of combination remedial program and prep school for her "young ladies"—in stark contrast to the "outlaw" reputation many junior colleges earned as dumping grounds for unscrupulous major colleges.

But the strains of a full-time job as director of the Shelburne Recreation Center in Roxbury and her responsibilities as a wid-

ow with two kids to raise finally got to be too much for her. Last summer she retired from her formal duties with the Expressettes. Contributing to her decision was the team's chronic lack of support, fan and financial.

"At the end of last season, when we qualified for the national tournament," she said, "we weren't able to come up with the airfare until the last minute, when TWA closed their doors. As a coach, I would never have been able to tell them, 'You

can't go after you worked so hard.' I would have gone into my own pocket." (She has done so in the past.) Anonymous angels finally came through, but Harris thinks the city and state owe the team some sort of help.

Harris' "retirement" ended in October when the University of Massachusetts offered her the opportunity to start a women's basketball program at its Boston campus. She just couldn't turn down a chance to "open more doors to urban youngsters." Given Harris' track record, U. Mass, Boston, may figure as a power in women's ball within a very few years.

Even with her new responsibilities, Harris is still a fixture at RCC games and practices. She recruited three of this year's players, including Mona Thurman, who has already broken Shebra LeGrant's single-game scoring record with 52 points.

She is much more than a bystander. At practice, she checks in with the players, asking about their progress in school, their jobs, their personal lives. The RCC Expressettes are a family in more than just the rhetoric of team sports. Harris is, in fact, in the process of adopting Shebra LeGrant. Martha Bennet, a nursing mother on this year's team, brings her son, Norman, to games, where disabled players and fans take care of him while she is on the court.

"We play basketball. We babysit. We do it all," said Clayton.

No bench strength.

The Expressettes are starting from scratch this year with a new coach and all new players, a regular hazard at two-year institutions. There are only seven Expressettes in all. With one of them out indefinitely for knee surgery, there is no bench strength. Everyone on the team is a freshman, and three of the regulars are unfamiliar with the fundamentals of team play.

The Expressettes lost their first game of the season when two of their players fouled out and the team had to finish the fourth quarter with only four women on the court. Losing for the first time in four years cast a pall on Leon Clayton's debut as coach, but he took the setback philosophically, attributing the loss to the nervousness of his young team.

When RCC is on the road, it draws the biggest crowds the opposing teams see all year. "When people play us, they're psyched," said Clayton. "The team that beat us felt like they won the national championships. We made their season."

Better competition may improve RCC's national standing. The lack of any local challengers has meant certain death for the team at the national competitions where the closest it's come is second place. Last year, the Expressettes finished sixth.

Surviving transition is the mark of a successful basketball program. Despite the many changes at RCC, both Harris and Clayton feel their team has a good shot at reaching the nationals again this year.

At that pace, the Expressettes could become New England's newest basketball tradition. And a winning one at that.

■ *Anita Diamant is a journalist working at the Boston Phoenix.*

ART & ENTERTAINMENT



Bookends

Readers' favorite books from the '70s

Editors and contributors to *In These Times* published their lists of favorite books of the '70s in *ITT*, Jan. 30. We also asked for the books you liked best in the last decade.

Here are the books listed in the responses we received. The books you mentioned show that *In These Times* readers have a serious reading habit. Many people chose to cite books of political and social reporting and analysis, especially on the subjects of the role of the State, of religion, and of the women's movement. Equally strong was the mention of contemporary fiction. Comparatively few people listed historical books, either monographs or overviews. Non-fiction books on the subjects of visual arts, music, film or art history were rare, except for a handful of titles on cultural theory.

Mentioned by more than one reader:



Labor and Monopoly Capital, Harry Braverman (7)
Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas, Hunter Thompson (4)
Gravity's Rainbow, Thomas Pynchon (3)
One Hundred Years of Solitude, Gabriel Garcia Marquez (3)
Capitalism, Family and Personal Life, Eli Zaretsky (3)
The Power Broker, Robert Caro (2)
SDS, Kirkpatrick Sale (2)
Ragtime, E.L. Doctorow (2)
Food First, Frances Lappe et al. (2)
Against Our Will, Susan Brownmiller (2)
The Women's Room, Marilyn French (2)
Small Is Beautiful, E.F. Schumacher (2)
Roll, Jordan, Roll, Eugene Genovese (2)
Schooling in Capitalist America, Sam Bowles and Herb Gintis (2)
Beyond the Bedroom Wall, Larry Woiwode (2)
Song of Solomon, Toni Morrison (2)
Woman on the Edge of Time, Marge Piercy
Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television, Jerry Mander (2)
The Hidden Injuries of Class, Richard Sennett and Jonathan Cobb (2)
Our Bodies, Ourselves, Boston Women's Health Book Collective (2)

Social Amnesia, Russell J. Coby (2)

Mentioned by one reader:

The World According to Garp, John Irving
Ladies Man, Richard Price
Marx and the Bible, José Miranda
The Socialist Decision, Paul Tillich
The Crucified God, Jurgen Motlmann
The Tribes of Yahweh, Norman Gotwald
The Alternative Future, Roger Garaudy
Philosophy and Revolution, Raya Dunayevskaya
Socialism, Michael Harrington
Let History Judge, Roy Medvedev
The Stories of John Cheever, John Cheever
A Book of Common Prayer and The White Album, Joan Didion
Going Crazy, Otto Friedrich
Dispatches, Michael Herr
Metropolitan Life, Fran Liebowitz
Conversation in the Cathedral, Mario Vargas Llosa
Far Tortuga, Peter Matthiessen
Tell Me a Riddle, Silences, and Yonnondio, from the Thirties, Tillie Olsen
Mumbo Jumbo, Ishmael Reed
Zone of the Interior, Clancy Sigal
The Communist Movement and Eurocommunism and Socialism, Fernando Claudin
The Kapetanios: Partisans and Civil War in Greece, Dominique Eudes
The Black Jacobins, C.L.R. James
Foundations of Christianity, Karl Kautsky
Studies and Further Studies in a Dying Culture, Christopher Caudwell
Guerrillas in Power, K.S. Karol
Function of the Orgasm and Sex-Pol, Wilhelm Reich
Wilhelm Reich, the Evolution of His Work, David Boadella
Class Struggle in the U.S.S.R., Charles Bettelheim
Revolutions in the Third World, Gerard Chaliand
State, Power, Socialism, Nicos Poulantzas
What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules, Goran Therborn
The Socialist Register of 1978 and The State in Capitalist Society, Ralph Miliband
JR, William Gaddis
No Nukes, Anna Gorygy
Monkey Wrench Gang, Edward Abbey
Mystery Train, Griel Marcus
The Dispossessed, Ursula LeGuin
The Power of the People, Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski
Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution, John Foster
First Shop Stewards' Movement, James Hinton
America by Design, David Noble



The Underground Man, Ross MacDonald
Unorthodox Marxism, Robin Hahnel and Mike Albert
The Book of Daniel, E.L. Doctorow
Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Paulo Freire
Working, Studs Terkel
Passages, Gail Sheehan
Second Best: The Crisis of the Community College, L. Steven Zwerling
Grow or Die, George T. Lockland
The Nature of Human Aggression, Ashley Montague
October Light, John Gardner
A Christina Stead Reader
Magic Journey, John Nichols
Pentimento, Lillian Hellman
Gabriela, Clove and Cinnamon, Jorge Amado
Another Roadside Attraction and Even Cowgirls Get the Blues, Tom Robbins
Simple Justice, Richard Kluger
The Time of Illusion, Jonathan Schell
Gathering the Tribes, Carolyn Forché
A World of Light and A House by the Sea, May Sarton
The Bright Lights, Marian Seldes
Book of Days, Hal Borlands
Huey Long, T. Harry Williams
America in Our Time, Godfrey Hodgson
Sideshow, William Shawcross
Global Reach, Richard Barnett and Ronald Mueller

Deciding What's News, Herbert Gans
Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism, Daniel Bell
The New Socialist Revolution, Michael Lerner
"All his books," Carlos Castaneda
Dispatches, Michael Herr
The Restructuring of Social and Political Theory, Richard Bernstein
The Limits to Satisfaction, William Leiss
Legitimation Crisis, Jurgen Habermas
The Limits of Legitimacy, Alan Wolfe
Valuing the Self: What We Can Learn from Other Cultures, Dorothy Lee
Dance to the Music of Time, Anthony Powell
The Bolshevik Revolution, E.H. Carr
The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, Fernand Braudel
Minima Moralia, Theodor Adorno



Illuminations, Walter Benjamin
Prison Notebooks, Antonio Gramsci
The World Turned Upside Down, Christopher Hill
Rationality and Irrationality in Economics, Maurice Godelier
The Diaries of Anais Nin
The Sheep Look Up, John Bruner



The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia, Alfred McCoy
Cambodia—Starvation and Revolution, George C. Hildebrand and Gareth Porter
Behold Man, Lennart Nilsson
Beyond Repair, Barry Weisberg
The Hidden History of the Korean War, I.F. Stone
Cultural Materialism, Marvin Harris
The Autobiography of Cassandra, Ursule Molinaro
A Long Desire, Evan S. Connell
Wilderness, Anthony Smith
Medusa and Snail, Lewis Thomas
Platform for Change, Stafford Beer
The Politics of Nonviolent Action, Gene Sharp
The Dinner Party, Judy Chicago
Poetry, Pablo Neruda
Sister Gin, June Arnold
The Control of Oil, John Blair
Poems, Susan Griffin
Sisterhood Is Powerful, Robin Morgan et al.



Psychoanalysis and Feminism, Juliet Mitchell
Personal Politics, Sara Evans
Our Bodies, Our Rights, Linda Gordon
Rubyfruit Jungle, Rita Mae Brown
Small Changes, Marge Piercy
Living My Life, Emma Goldman
Feminization of American Culture, Ann Douglas
Shoeworkers of Lynn, Massachusetts, Paul Faler
Roots of War, Richard Barnett
Brothers, I Loved You All (Poems, 1969-1977), Hayden Carruth
The Dream of a Common Language: Poems 1974-1977, Adrienne Rich
Local Lives: Poems about the Pennsylvania Dutch, Millen Brand
Creator Spirit, Come! Nature Heals and Drawing the Line, Paul Goodman



Homosexual Oppression and Liberation, Dennis Altman
Sexual Politics, Kate Millett
Escape from Childhood, John Holt
The Manufacture of Madness, Thomas Szasz
The Unsettling of America, Wendell Berry
Film and Revolution, James Roy McBean
Letters of Insurgents, Sophia Nachalo
Root and Branch
Rank and File, Staughton Lynd
Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism, Zillah Eisenstein
Fiscal Crisis of the State, James O'Connor
Dialectics of Sex, Shulamith Firestone
The Modern World System, Emmanuel Wallerstein
I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings, Maya Angelou
The Woman Warrior, Maxine Kingston

MUSIC

The left wing of new wave rock grows

By Bruce Dancis

For the past six months the big news in the music industry has been the growing acceptance of New Wave rock. Record companies seem to be falling all over themselves trying to sign any band with a noun for a name and short hair for a coiffure.

Simultaneously, bands on the left wing of the new rock movement—that is, groups whose critique of both mainstream rock and capitalist culture is political as well as aesthetic—are more numerous, influential and critically respected than at any time in the history of rock'n'roll. This development, however, is still largely confined to Great Britain, where a different political climate and organizations such as Rock Against Racism have fostered its growth. Two groups in particular, the Clash and the Gang of Four, stand out.

Mention the Clash and most rock fans think of angry lyrics and the most blistering musical pace in memory. From the frenzy of "Career Opportunities," their 1977 diatribe against dead-end jobs and the dole queue, to the guitar-overloaded explosion of "Safe European Home" to the recent shoot-out on "I Fought the Law," the Clash have been the punk's punks, the unofficial world ambassadors for the socially conscious, high energy rock of the late '70s.

The band's recently released double album—*London Calling* (Epic)—finds the Clash continuing the ferocious rockers and

Clash, the 'punk's punks' play ferocious rockers about racism, war, nuclear disaster and corporate power.

militant stance on which they built their reputation. Racism, repression, nuclear catastrophes, war and corporate power remain major concerns for the Clash, and no group more consistently hits their target.

The Clash were never as musically one-dimensional as many of their supporters. Their early forays into reggae presaged an entire movement into Jamaican rhythms by other white rockers, and they occasionally showed a subtle, light touch out of character with their image.

On *London Calling*, the band has emerged as brilliant students and interpreters of rock history. In fact, the album cover resembles Elvis Presley's first RCA LP. Showing that they can teach an old vehicle some new tricks,

the Clash do a version of "Brand New Cadillac" using a punky bass and drum line to update and add a whole lotta shakin' to a classic rock'n'roll song. Similarly, on "Hateful," a Bo Diddley beat gets transplanted onto a speeded-up treadmill, and on "Wrong 'Em Boyo," the band reworks the venerable Stagger Lee story through a bouncy, raunchy beat with just a hint of ska, the pre-reggae Jamaican music of the early and mid-'60s.

The '60s are represented with "I'm Not Down," an inspiring song whose ingenious melody line, intriguing changes in rhythm and McCartney-style bass runs remind one of the Beatles. And the softer, more contemplative side of the Joe Strummer/Mick Jones songwriting team



comes out on "Spanish Bombs," an intelligent, moving, even startling reflection on the Spanish Civil War.

"The hillsides ring with 'Free the people,' or can I hear the echo from the days of '39?"

With trenches full of poets, the ragged army, fixin' bayonets to fight the other line, Spanish bombs rock the province, I'm hearing music from another time...

The Clash is a punk rock group whose garage band sound and street-wise, visceral criticism continually deepens. In contrast, the Gang of Four was started by art students at Leeds University whose socialist self-consciousness can be seen in various aspects of their presentation and on their debut album—*Entertainment!* (still available only as a British EMI import)—yet never undermines their excitement and power.

The Gang of Four combine urgent, unconventional rhythms, reminiscent at times of a speeded-up Coney Island bumper car ride, with intelligent, socialist-oriented lyrics. "At Home He's a Tourist" is about the difficulty we have finding fulfillment in work, leisure, entertainment, and at home. The song starts with a running, pseudo-disco beat, but frenzied guitar scratches quickly overtake it, control it, and then transform the beat into an uptempo rocker.

In concert, the Gang busts the audience's traditional view of a rock band, and teases conventions of rock staging. They break accepted patterns of pacing and musical accompaniment. Vocals may begin almost haphazardly, jogging into one another, playing off each other, overlapping.

Band members acknowledge the influence of the women's movement on them, and they were one of the first all-male bands to play benefits for the recently formed Rock Against Sexism. This influence is apparent in "Contract":

*Another disappointment
We couldn't perform
In the way the other wanted
Those social dreams
Put in practice in the bedroom
Is this so private
Our struggle in the bedroom.*

Entertainment! is as provocative and invigorating as any debut album I've heard in years, without any hint of the smugness, condescension, or exclusivity sometimes associated with the rock avant-garde.

MOVIES

Gay life is all leather for *Cruising*

By Jay Merit

Two hundred New York homosexuals and human rights activists were upset enough at the distortions of gay life as portrayed by the movie *Cruising* that they picketed the National Theater in Times Square Friday, Feb. 15, the day the film opened.

The next night nearly 3,000 gay men in various stages of altered consciousness packed the Flamingo disco for the legendary White Party (the highlight of New York's gay social season) and danced well into the Sunday morning daybreak. More than one person there wondered out loud about gays' ability to get it together on the dance floor and the seeming impossibility of being a cohesive force in the real world.

Well, things seem to be changing, if only at a slow pace. Gay activism is still in its infancy. But the very fact that *Cruising* was made indicates, however perversely, how much things have changed in the last decade. The subject is no longer tabu, and a genuine curiosity has surfaced

Gay protest over the film in 25 cities has built a grass roots network that might otherwise have taken years to develop.

among many straights about the nuances of gay life. *Cruising*, however, utterly ignores all the positive aspects of contemporary gay lifestyles and focuses narrowly on a disturbed, stereotypical view of a sado-masochistic leather scene.

Cruising's nationwide exhibition at 525 theaters offers homosexuals an opportunity to express the anger provoked by media distortion of the meaning of their lives. Protests have been mounted in more than 25 cities, including Boston, Seattle, New Orleans, Phoenix, Dallas and Atlanta.

It also offers a chance to in-

crease the size and strength of existing gay groups. Tom Greene of the National Gay Task Force said, "The gay community has always been divided, even on the matter of *Cruising*. But the movie did unify a lot of people nationally. It set up a grass roots network that otherwise might have taken years to develop."

Concerning the demonstrations around its filming in New York and upon the film's release, Greene remarked, "The first amendment argument has no force when applied to the filmmakers in this case."

"Any censorship is on Hollywood's part. We have no legal recourse against discrimination as other minorities do. Hollywood has a money monopoly on the silver screen, and we don't have an equal opportunity to tell our side of the story."

Arthur Bell, *Village Voice* columnist and gay activist, said, "In the long run the purpose of the demonstrations will have been served, in that even if this film makes money, others like it will never get off the ground."

"Now is the time for screenwriters with gay characters to start pounding on studio doors.

No one is going to go to this movie and not know about the brouhaha surrounding it."

Mess of a movie.

By any standard, social or cinematic, *Cruising* is a mess of a movie. The dialog is banal, the acting is wooden, the direction is limp. In the hands of a more sympathetic director, it could have been a provocative film that transcended its sordid subject. A phenomenon of current metropolitan life is the confused attraction that many straight men feel for the gay world around them, and the Al Pacino character in this film is similarly attracted. But director William Friedkin's response to the protest last summer was to remove every frame of motivation for the hero's ambivalent and distraught encounters with gays. The director leaves us with no way to understand what Pacino is feeling when he stares blankly into a mirror in his girlfriend's loft apartment at the film's end.

The birth and growth of a sexual culture in urban America continues to go unacknowledged in our popular films.

Jay Merit is a New York writer.

BACK TALK

Steelworkers slam Skag

By Russell W. Gibbons

ITT's decision to give a play to "Skag" (ITT, Feb. 6) endorsed some of the worst stereotyped distortions of working people and their unions on TV. The tube is in a particular desolate state with an absence of social realism in drama, but that is no reason to dignify commercialization of the new awareness that working people have lives and daily struggle just as do the middle class and the rich—the subjects of most of our visual entertainment.

Coming from the same network that gave us January's two-part Joe Don Baker slam on unions entitled "Power," (an undisguised steal from the equally whorish *F.I.S.T.* with the message that unions are conceived in nobility, seduced in corruption and buried in violence and compromise), why should you expect that it would offer anything of better substance? Fred Silverman would hire Pol Pot's speechwriter if he thought his script would get him out of the basement in the ratings war with the other two outlets of tube culture.

As a "Pittsburgh native," Abby Mann has as many credentials to write about steel mills and steelworkers as any native of Greenville, Miss., has of doing a documentary on the condition of poor southern blacks. Mann admitted to a Chicago television critic that his "unhappy childhood" in Pittsburgh was a recol-

lection that steelworkers' kids pelted him with snowballs daily because of his Russian-Jewish parentage.

His "technical advisers" included several steelworkers from the Homestead U.S. Steel local who boasted of "getting smashed" with his Hollywood entourage in local pubs last summer (no doubt the inspiration for the series' "Fat Lady's" bar).

He declined to use the information supplied to him by the expert on occupational medicine in the steel industry at the University of Pittsburgh, Dr. David Parkinson, even though it would have provided a dramatic instance of worker exposure to cancer-producing toxic emissions in some parts of steelworking operations. Why? Because the United Steelworkers funded, directed and has led the campaign to eliminate these hazards to worker health.

Mann chose to give credence to some of the worst of discredited stereotypes of blue collar workers. Among them:

- Blue collar workers are dumb. Skag's wife Jo, portrayed effectively by Piper Laurie as a wife 14 years his junior and unhappy with her traditional role as homemaker and mother, tells him that he is a fool to lead a wildcat strike, that his fellow workers will not support him and that "sometimes the working people are their own worst enemy."

- New women in the workplace want only more money



SKAG

Pittsburgh workers test the strength of TV's steel opera

ANITA ALVERIO

It's a scene in the mill some of the workers who daily face the real health hazards as being unrealistic. "Skag" really didn't show the fifth and sixth floors, and the workers who live on them. "Skag" is a damn good movie, and then when the famous star blazes, you can't see 200 feet into the open heart.

The movie's disappointment came, however, from the character of Skag. The publicity had prepared viewers for a show about a working family. When Mann put on the white foreman's hat, steelworkers said:

Foremen, they say, don't work in the mill. They supervise.

"Foremen don't pick up a shovel," said Larry Evans of the Edgar Thompson Mill in Braddock. "They're not supposed to work and the unionmen are always watching out for foremen who are doing that because they're trying to spend the money on trying to do the men's work."

To some Homestead workers it seems that the movie of the foreman does not know the jobs and couldn't perform them if the situation demanded it. Unlike Skag, some foremen have other jobs too and they're not all as dumb as they're not all just bastards. A lot of them are sensitive and as aware of problems as some of the people who write the scripts. It's as though they think the steelworkers are stupid and it's so long ago because what I intended to be, so far, Skag is another story. We're making a movie for Ronald Reagan and that's not really so. There are people who see

An interview with the producer, Abby Mann

How did Skag start? Brandon Tarkenton, the new head of entertainment at NBC, and Fred Silverman and I wanted to discuss doing a show together. Fred and I had originally done *Knight Rider* together. We wanted to do something about a blue-collar family, but I didn't know what the story would be.

Then I began thinking that both my father and brother-in-law had had a stroke. My brother-in-law had always been a very athletic guy and when he had the stroke, he had to reevaluate his whole life. So I merged that experience with the steelworkers and that's how the idea came to me.

Why did you choose Pittsburgh? I'm a native Pittsburgher. From East Pittsburgh, where Skag is set, my dad owned a small jewelry store on Broad Avenue. It's now torn down and made into a parking lot. Also, my brother-in-law and sister are optometrists here, and my parents still live in Squirrel Hill.

Did you ever work in any of the steel mills? No, but I have seen them, and I am aware of the health problems that the steel workers have to put up with. Their lives are more dangerous than most of the things that are being written about.

I also recall the fact that, for many years, workers have other jobs too and they're not all as dumb as they're not all just bastards. A lot of them are sensitive and as aware of problems as some of the people who write the scripts. It's as though they think the steelworkers are stupid and it's so long ago because what I intended to be, so far, Skag is another story. We're making a movie for Ronald Reagan and that's not really so. There are people who see

A public starved for drama on TV is getting the message that unions are undemocratic and in bed with the company.

and share no common commitment. No feminists crept into Mann's plot in either Hollywood or Pittsburgh, and he comes down on women steelworkers especially heavy.

•Union members who oppose union "bosses" invite violence and even murder. "Don't mess

with them," warns David to his father. "These union guys play rough. The Mafia can take lessons from them." Skag is worked over. Jo darkly reminds her husband, "You remember Jack Yablonski. He was your friend. They killed him and his family."

•Unions are no better than the company and are run by "bosses." Skag, both worker and "boss" (his wife and neighbors call him that in the dialogue) has a run-in everytime in workplace scenes with the union steward, Hawkins, who is portrayed as a company man. Skag goes to a union meeting, where the impression is that Tammany-type politicians make speeches until most members go home, and then use heavy-handed techniques to put down Skag and his supporters.

ITT's interview with Skag creator Mann was insightful. Like so many others, who he scorns as being "condescending" in their writing about blue collar

workers, he acknowledges belief in the shot-and-a-beer syndrome. If you want to find any intelligence about a worker and his plant or community, go to the local tavern.

It is also revealing that he originally cast Skag as a foreman "because I wanted a man of some responsibility...he's a leader." Thousands of steelworkers should reflect on that statement—the people who make the steel, take the dangers daily, make the decisions that make their workplace a better place and run for office and take the heat as local union officers and grievancepeople. One reflects on the comment by another Skag critic in your account: "...you just can't show them [union people] standing up to the boss."

Obviously Mann is no democrat in his art. He does not want input from anyone but those who will meet with him in the local bar and confirm his preconceived story line. Meanwhile, his "shakedown process" will tell millions of television viewers that unions do nothing about safety, are run by goons and have "sold out."

Those unionists who pride their so-called "rank-and-file" role in opposition to any elected union administration—local or international—must be taking some strange satisfaction if they believe the "Skag" line about "union sellout" will advance the cause of "militant" unionism. The public gets only one message in this series—unions are undemocratic, ineffectual and in bed with the company.

That, I believe, is exactly the message that NBC executives and the sponsors of this show would like delivered to a public starved for even quasi-serious television drama.

Russell W. Gibbons is the editor of *Steelworker*, published by the United Steelworkers of America.

Anita Alverio replies:

Gibbons' main quarrel is with Abby Mann and not with ITT. As he points out, the interview and article support his criticisms of Mann. That ITT published an article that by and large is critical of "Skag" is hardly the same as having "endorsed" some of the worst stereotyped distortions of working people and their unions. The article does include statements by rank-and-file workers, some of whom are critical of the International. But Gibbons can also find his concern that the series raises ghosts of anti-union sentiment echoed in other quotes.

The article researched opinions. Simply put, not all rank-and-file workers hold the rosy-colored view of impeccable unions that Gibbons would like portrayed.

BOOKS

The business of organized charity is big business

CHARITY U.S.A.
By Carl Bakal
Times Books, \$16.95

By Joseph Barbato

Carl Bakal's study of America's tin-cup shakers is a mind-boggling journey through the world of organized charity. Statistics abound. ("If one-dollar bills were stacked one on top of another," writes Bakal, in describing America's total charitable giving of \$400 billion over the past 70 years, "400 billion of them would make a pile 27,147 miles high.") Unfortunately, beyond expressing a vague unease about the charity scene, Bakal offers little solid insight here into how charities fit into American life.

Bakal does succeed, however, in describing the phenomenal growth and diversity of some 400 American charities, from the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, and United Cerebral Palsy to the Sierra Club, the N.A.A.C.P. and Disabled War Veterans. In all, says the author, organized charity constitutes

a \$100 billion industry that has grown willy-nilly, receives little government regulation, and includes both saints and charlatans. And, contrary to popular myth, most charitable giving (to religions, education, and health, in that order) comes from individuals and not businesses, which account for only 5 percent of all giving.

Bakal has written a consumer guide, warning how to tell the real from the fake charities (get their annual reports, see how much is being spent and on what). At the same time, he pretends to social criticism but fails to delve deeply into the tax-dodging aspects of foundations (which now number 26,000), the self-perpetuating tendencies of many large charities, the poor coordination of overseas relief efforts, and the failure of many health charities to accomplish much in their research programs. "Abroad as well as at home, the needs of charity have become too big and too important to be left to the charitable organizations," he writes. He goes on to suggest greater government reg-

ulation is needed until the "utopian future" when government will take care of present charitable needs.

Readers unfamiliar with modern fund-raising techniques (many of which may be traced back to the indefatigable Ben Franklin) will find Bakal's explanations of major charitable campaigns fascinating. The mysteries of phonathons, telathons, direct-mail campaigns, and other undertakings are all unraveled here. Perhaps most intriguing are his descriptions of fraudulent charities.

The facts and figures, the politics and in-fighting among organizations, the wearisome details of yet another cause—all these are here. Lacking are the sharp critical insights that might help us to understand whether the tin-cup rattlers matter, how they matter, and whether there isn't a better way to provide for the poor, the diseased, and the ignorant.

Joseph Barbato is a freelance writer in New York.

CULTURE SHOCK

IN THE POST-LITERATE SOCIETY

A survey of a recent TV cartoon special on Bugs Bunny, The Road Runner and other Warner Brothers cartoon characters found that 40 percent of the viewers were over 18. Warner Brothers now plans to begin production of an adult-oriented cartoon series.



YOUR TAX DOLLAR AGAIN

The IRS has decided that ransom money

paid to kidnappers is deductible as a business expense, if the kidnapped person is a corporate asset.

THE BEST LAID PLANS

A film entitled *The Shah of Iran*, which was to begin shooting in November, has been postponed indefinitely. Said the scriptwriter to Zodiac News, "We just don't have an ending."

TELEVISION

Liberal's view of Attica

By Albert Auster

In Cinda Firestone's fine 1974 documentary *Attica*, inmate Frank Smith in a final voiceover says, "Wake up, the only thing that the sleeper gets is the dream."

Given the recent events at New Mexico State prison, and new disturbances at Attica, it is clear that the country is still sleeping.

However, even after Attica things didn't change much. For instance, Jessica Mitford in *Kind and Usual Punishment* pointed out that the only improvements after the 1971 rebellion there were that the prisoners got two baths a week and an unlimited supply of toilet paper. When warden Vincent Mancuso was asked by the McKay Commission investigating the rebellion in 1972, if anything had changed at the prison since the uprising, his comment was, "We have instituted two gunposts."

Although obviously in preparation for a while, but in a clear example of perfect timing and topicality (TV execs love to point out that a TV movie, *Red Alert*—about a nuclear meltdown—was shown even before *The China Syndrome*) ABC has scheduled the made-for-TV movie *Attica* on Sunday, March 2. *Attica* was made from Tom Wicker's *A Time to Die*, a Mailer-esque journey into the heart of darkness of the American prison system. It was directed by Marvin Chomsky (*Roots I, Hol-*

ocaust), written for TV by Jim Henderson (*Breaking Up Is Hard to Do*), and covers the period Sept. 8-13, 1971, when the prison was retaken from rebellious inmates with the resulting deaths of 43 prisoners and hostages.

Attica stays on safe ideological grounds, but never caricatures or waffles when it comes to placing the blame. The tone is set from the opening sequences, which show the prisoners conducting their silent, late August vigil commemorating the murder of George Jackson. This vigil carried out by both white and black inmates was an early warning to prison authorities that the prisoners were well organized.

Without resorting to too much old fashioned Jimmy Cagney heroics the film depicts the flaming hostility between the largely urban black and Hispanic inmates and the rural white guards, and the weak-willed attempt of the state commissioner of corrections, Russell Oswald (Charles Durning), to try to calm things down.

Just as striking as the discord between the guards and the inmates is the sense the film gives of the differing feelings and ideologies of the observers, ranging from William Kunstler (Anthony Zerbe) on the left to State Senator John Dunne on the right. Nor does it romanticize.

Nevertheless, throughout most of the film there is clearly a positive picture of the young and fiery T.J. Wayne (David

The film shows the use of weapons outlawed by the Geneva Convention.

Harris)—a composite character drawn mostly from the activities during the rebellion of L.D. Barkley, who was killed in the assault—making the famous, "We are men, we are not beasts" speech on the night of Sept. 9.

The film stays on safe ideological turf by focusing on a prison-wise con (Morgan Freeman) who feels impending tragedy, and on the torment of Tom Wicker (George Grizzard). Grizzard plays Wicker with none of the vinegary tics in his portrayal of John Adams (*The Adams Chronicles*), but with the earnestness of an assured liberal who sees his belief in rationality and compromise crumble within four days of what Wicker called in his book, a period when he "learned more, saw more and felt more than in most of the rest of my life."

Despite its attempts to be evenhanded toward convicts, observers and prison officials, the film never stints when it comes



Bobby Seale (Noble Lee Lester) with Attica inmates.

to assigning blame for the massacre. For example, it shows Wicker making his desperate last-chance call to Governor Rockefeller to delay the assault that everyone knew was imminent, and we hear the Governor's "Hiya fella" voice refusing to come.

Finally, the film depicts in excruciating detail the assault, with helicopter spinning overhead directing the prisoners to surrender to the nearest police officer, and the prisoners being mowed down as they tried to do so, by state troopers and corrections officers (who had been forbidden to participate). A voiceover by Wicker (Grizzard) describes the use of CN gas and the use of dum-dum bullets (outlawed by the Geneva Convention) with the afterthought that this was the most Americans slain by other Americans since the Civil War.

Attesting to the authenticity of the film and to the assault

scenes in particular was Dacajewiah (formerly John Hill), an American Indian who was a prisoner at Attica during the uprising and was one of the 61 inmates indicted by the grand jury after the rebellion.

Dacajewiah said to *IN THESE TIMES*, "ABC and Tom Wicker described without censorship the atrocities that the state committed in retaking the prison." He also approved of the way the film emphasized the fact that the prison could have been retaken by other means. About the film's portrayal of Gov. Rockefeller, Dacajewiah said, "It showed him for the pig he was." *Attica* is unlikely to succeed where books, articles, films and the agitation of thousands of people have so far failed, it might hopefully, as a first step, disturb a few of the dreams of those sleepers.

Albert Auster is a New York historian and cultural critic.

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ASIAN in Vol. 11 #4: Three essays on Kampuchea/Vietnam; Also China, India, Korea. Vol. 12 #1: Women in India; Peasantry in Japan; "Corporate Zen" etc. Subs: \$14; Copy: \$3.50. Bulletin of C.A.S., Box W, Charlemont, MA 01339.

HOMEMADE MAGAZINE features social comment from a cosmic idealist. Free sample copy. Robert's Telling Tales, P.O. Box 2181, Bellingham, WA 98225.

CENTRAL AMERICA UPDATE: Monthly newsletter provides in-depth political coverage. Six issue subscriptions: \$8.00 for individuals, \$25.00 for institutions. CAU, Suite 306, 402 W. Ponder St., Vancouver, B.C., V6B 1T6.

DARIO FO'S SATIRE, ACCIDENTAL DEATH OF AN ANARCHIST. Send \$3.50 to: Theater, Box 2048, Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520.

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EVENTS

WE ARE TIRED OF "PEANUTS." 1980 convention and jobs seminar. Ideas, contacts, papers and donations welcomed. Remember, poverty is the parent of revolution and crime. Leonard Henderson, Young Democrats of Detroit, P.O. Box 08069, Detroit, MI 48208.

HELP WANTED

WISE/USA seeks staff person: Fulltime staff person needed to start by end of March, work on international anti-nuclear/safe energy news service (WISE: World Information Service on Energy). Must have office skills, writing ability. Language skills desirable. Salary approx. \$12,000. Washington, DC office. Send resume and 2 references to: Jim Garrison, 1324 No. Capitol, Washington, DC 20002.

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ORGANIZATIONS

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CORPUS—National Association Registered/Married Priests: Box 2649, Chicago 60690.

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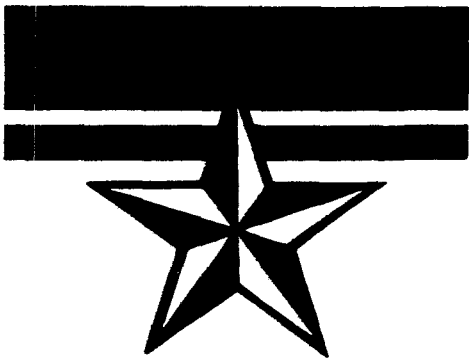
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By Joseph Kelley

Uncle Sam does want you—if you're white, bright, and ready to fight. And that may be why he's thinking about putting the draft back to work: the U.S. army is short on white men with managerial or technical know-how.

With the modern army's need for specialized skills increasing annually, defense officials are worried about plummeting enlistment standards, a rash of applications for early discharge, and a serious decline in the number of well-educated white soldiers. The recent enthusiasm for renewing the draft may have less to do with events in Iran and Afghanistan than it does with a desire to expand the pool of white enlisted men who arrive with professional or technical skills.

The personnel structure of the military today bears a close resemblance to the civilian sector in its reliance on a class of professional managers. As a 1979 study by the Brookings Institute demonstrated, the army now relies less on the combat ready soldier and more on technicians and specialists skilled in handling new management systems and technology.

"We cannot get enough of the right kind of people, with the necessary skills and abilities to fit the needs," Senator John Stennis (D-Miss.) has said of the present volunteer army.

Solving that problem through the draft means pumping more white inductees, especially those with some college training, into what is already a two-tiered structure. While officers, mid-level managers and technicians are overwhelmingly white, infantrymen and ditch-diggers—plain soldiers—tend to be black.

Color and numbers.

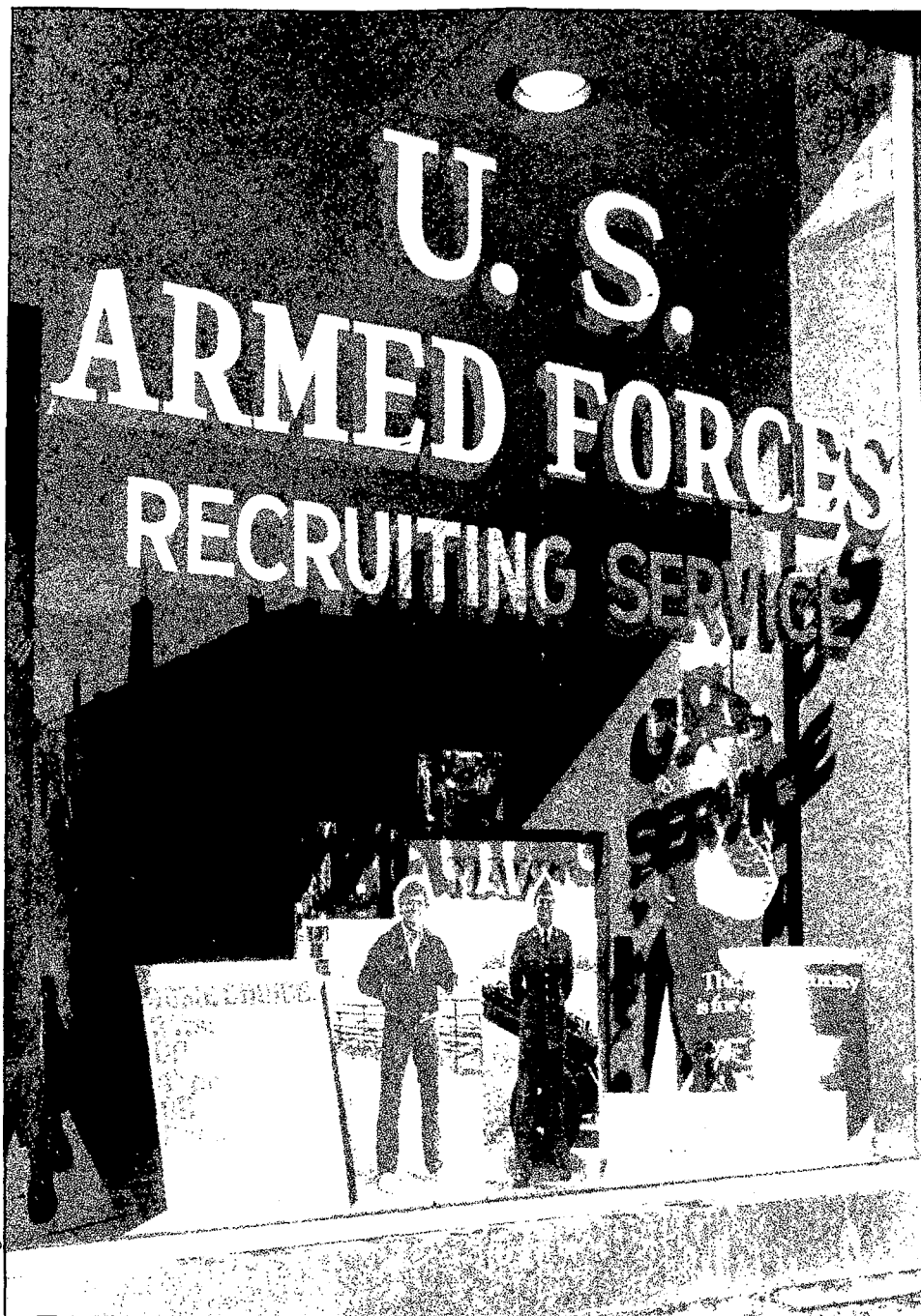
The new Selective Service could be just that: a way to select soldiers that guarantees a supply of men for the managerial class that runs today's army—and insures a more comfortable racial balance. Since the old draft ended in 1972, the total number of blacks in the army has increased by 103,000, while the number of whites has dropped by approximately 400,000. As a result, black enlistees now account for 30 percent of the army, lumped at the bottom of the military hierarchy. Only 6.1 percent of the officer corps is comprised of black men.

The imbalance shows no signs of reversing. In fact, it is almost certain to grow in the coming years. The low birth rate of the mid-'60s will leave recruiters with only 1.8 million eligible men by 1985, down from 2.1 million today. From that number, 400,000 new soldiers must be drawn in order to maintain the troop level at its current two million men. But recruiters must compete with equally aggressive college admissions officers, the civilian job market and other government programs for the best-educated candidates.

As a result, the armed services five years from now are likely to be even less representative of the general population in race and economic status. Congressman Robin L. Beard (R-Tenn.) recently predicted that almost half of the junior enlisted ranks in the army would soon be black, as well as 65 percent of the non-commissioned officers.

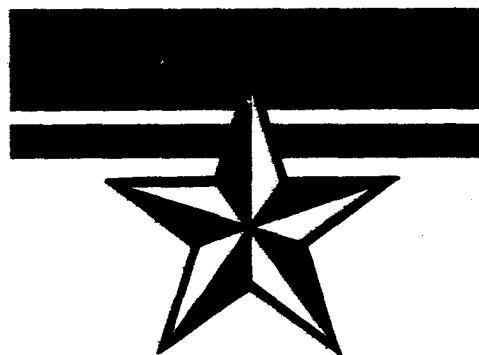
The problems anticipated by Beard and other critics of the present volunteer system range from racial tension to the possibility of large-scale disobedience of orders in the event of an African war.

Joseph Mashariki, head of the Black Veterans for Social Justice, a community organization in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant district, asserts that black antiwar protest has always been distinct from the white movement, and that the division will become more apparent if troops are ever sent to Africa. "There



The Army is looking for a few White Men

But blacks will still be fighting on the front lines



was resistance in Vietnam to white people telling black people to kill yellow people," he says. "There will be resistance now, too."

In public, the Department of Defense does not acknowledge that a growing black presence in the military is an issue at all. "We look for people to perform specific functions," said an army spokesman. "We don't feel race enters in."

At a 1974 race relations-equal opportunity conference at the Department of the Army, the matter was discussed and then dropped after participants conclud-

ed it was "desirable" to have a "cross section," but that "there should be little concern as to whether the army is mostly one race or another."

Nevertheless, observers who deal with the military on a regular basis say that high ranking officers privately express deep concern over race and education levels in the armed forces—and that re-institution of the draft is their way of responding to the problem. If a draft lottery were implemented without loopholes, the number of blacks entering the service would fall to one in nine, while the steady decline in white enlistments would be reversed.

"Afghanistan is just a smokescreen for bringing back the draft," says Northwestern University military sociologist Charles Moskos. "They don't want to admit the problems they have been having with the volunteer army."

Moskos is also concerned about the racial proportions in the military, if for different reasons. In the past, he points out, the service offered poor enlistees an opportunity to compete on equal terms against the privileged. But in an army composed mainly of the poor and the black, this chance is lost.

Along with sociologist Morris Janowitz of the University of Chicago, Moskos has proposed a series of changes in the volunteer system that would lure whites into the service and keep it from becoming a "racial enclave." These include a program of post-service educational benefits modeled on the G.I. Bill, and a requirement that all inductees have high school diplomas.

But neither a reinstated draft nor an altered volunteer system sits well with those who feel such efforts pose hazards for non-white Americans. "Any attempt to define the bases and limits of black participation in the military, even under the guise of altruism, should be suspect on the reasonable expectation that blacks would emerge as losers," argues John Butler, a sociologist at the University of Texas.

If the experience of Vietnam was any indication, a reinstated draft would not make the distribution of men within the armed forces more equitable in any case. Casualties in Southeast Asia were greatest among members of lower income groups, both black and white. And there is simply no assuring that the new system would be freer of loopholes for the privileged than its predecessor in the Vietnam era.

There are still big problems in the volunteer army. The shortage of manpower in such mid-level jobs as aviation repair specialist, electrician and tank mechanic, is acute. But just what is the army doing about it? For many of the young blacks who now fill the ranks, the service was presented as a matchless opportunity to acquire specialized training. The continuing stratification of the army—blacks at the bottom, whites at the top, blacks on the firing line, whites manning technical posts—suggest that the real problem has to do with unkept promises rather than with the dangers of racial imbalance. ■

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Joseph Kelley, a former staff reporter for the Patterson News, is a New York freelance reporter.

